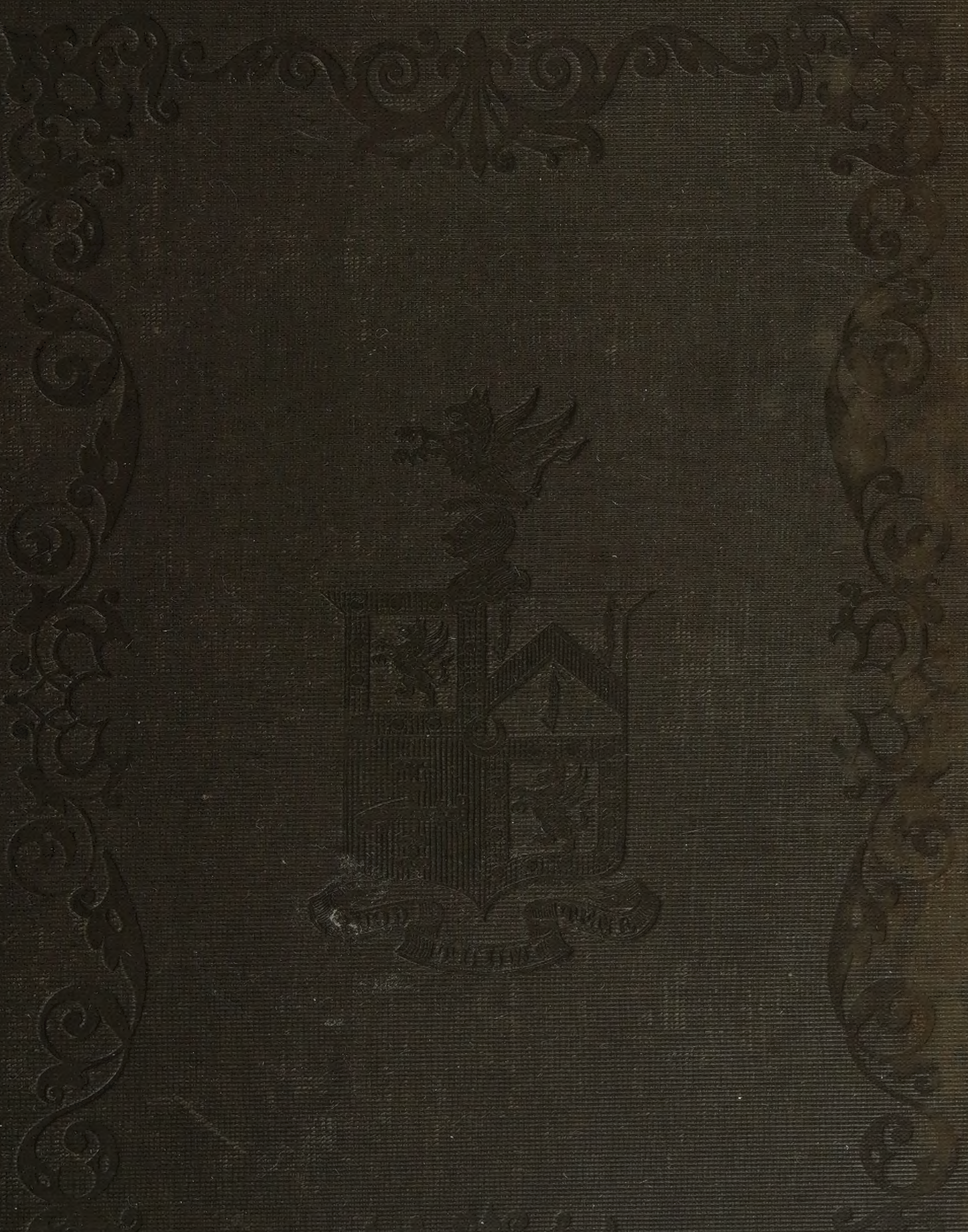

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Revd. A. H. Hulton.

# REMAINS

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CONNECTED WITH THE PALATINE COUNTIES OF

# LANCASTER AND CHESTER

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# TRACTS

RELATING TO

# MILITARY PROCEEDINGS

IN

# LANCASHIRE

DURING THE

# GREAT CIVIL WAR,

COMMENCING WITH

THE REMOVAL, BY PARLIAMENT, OF JAMES LORD STRANGE,
AFTERWARDS EARL OF DERBY,
FROM HIS LIEUTENANCY OF LANCASHIRE,

AND TERMINATING

WITH HIS EXECUTION AT BOLTON.

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EDITED AND ILLUSTRATED FROM CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS,

BY

GEORGE ORMEROD, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S.

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# PREFATORY MEMOIR.

THE following Tracts are part of a Collection formed by the present Editor about twenty years ago, with the object of possessing documents illustrative of the History of his native County, which it would be impossible to find in any regular or connected work. They were intended solely for his own use and his private Library, as he was conscious that there might be much difference of opinion as to the propriety of republishing in a collected form these contemporary memorials of civil and religious discord, and of almost fraternal strife.

Since that period opinions in favour of illustrating History by *republication of Tracts*, have been expressed and acted upon by high authorities. In 1825, the Civil War Tracts of Gloucestershire were given to the world collectively, with an excellent introduction by the Rev. John Webb, under the express patronage of George IV and his Lord Lieutenant for that county, the late Duke of Beaufort. Among other subsequent works of the same class, may be named "The Boscobel Tracts," published by Mr. Hughes, under the recommendation and suggestions of the Bishop of Llandaff. Other Tracts, of the Parliamentary party, had been previously subjoined, by Sir Walter Scott, to his Memoirs of the Great Civil War, and similar illustrations have been recently added by Mr. Wright to his Autobiography of

Joseph Lister. Finally, under the patronage of the LORD LIEUTENANT OF LANCASHIRE, and of almost every name of hereditary rank or high official dignity connected with that County and the sister Palatinate, THE CHETHAM SOCIETY determined to publish the Civil War Tracts of Lancashire; and when honoured by a request from a Society thus constituted that he would communicate his own collection for such purpose, and direct its publication, the Editor considered it, at once, a duty and a pleasure to comply.

It may be desirable to explain that the object of publication regards TRACTS, and documents of that class, *only*, and that the following plan of arrangement has been adopted: The selection of Tracts has been limited to such as relate to the proceedings of the Military, or the local Lieutenancy which directed them, to which explanatory notes have been added, with such extracts from contemporary journals or similar memorials as are requisite to connect the links of the story. To this mass of original documents a chronological table of local events is prefixed, to guide the reader through the labyrinth of details; and two Indexes are added: the first, or biographical Index, is constructed with a view to the identification of the person and family of each individual of local consideration; and the second, so as to enable the reader to follow, at once, the whole series of events here recorded, relating to each place or person. A chronological arrangement has been adopted, with the exception of two Tracts, by N. Barnet and Col. Rosworm, placed otherwise for reasons stated elsewhere; and all the Tracts which the Editor possessed in transcript only, have been collated anew with the original printed copies.

The object of the present prefatory essay is, to add to these documents a brief notice of the *scene* of the conflicts, and of the principal *persons* of the long and fearful tragedy which, from peculiar circumstances, seems in some degree to separate itself from the greater struggle which raged, at the same period, in the other portions of the three kingdoms.

THE SCENE of this local warfare, with the exception of one battle near Cartmell, and some skirmishes in the mountainous district dividing Lancashire from Yorkshire, lies entirely in the flat part of the former county bounded by that mountainous district, the river Lune, the Irish Sea, and the Mersey.

It does not appear that any other long or continuous warfare was ever carried on in these limits; at least, within the range of authentic history. Tacitus gives us the march of Agricola northwards through forests and estuaries, which Rauthmell, with great probability, adapts to the geographical features of Lancashire. Ten centuries after this, the Norman army forced its way through the defiles already mentioned, in passing from the devastation of Yorkshire southwards. Subsequently, the Scots penetrated to Clithero and to Lancaster. After this, local affrays occurred with the retainers of Earl Thomas of Lancaster; military movements took place in connexion with the wars of the Roses, the preparations for Bosworth, the rising for Lambert Simnel, the suppression of monasteries, and the pilgrimage of grace; and, at a later period, the irruptions of the adherents of the Stuarts in 1715 and 1745. Excepting, however, the struggles recorded in these Tracts, no systematic or continuous warfare is known to have existed in Lancashire.

*The area contained within the natural boundaries mentioned* has been thrice fortified;—namely, first, by its Roman conquerors; secondly, by the local grantees of the Norman sovereigns; and lastly, by the contending parties in the seventeenth century. The exact sites of fortresses have varied, but the objects of defence have been the same in all,—namely, the mountainous boundary on the east, the lines of the Lune, Ribble and Mersey, and a central position guarding the plain of South Lancashire; and it may not be uninteresting to compare their coincidences.

With respect to ROMAN DEFENCES, the first fortress to be noticed is the celebrated one of which so much has been written by the elder Whitaker, and which forms the centre of the operations described in the Tracts following—MANCHESTER—protecting at once the district adjacent to the higher portion of the Mersey and the junction of the Irwell with its tributary streams. Its British origin and Roman adoption are equally unquestionable; three minor fortresses were placed on the Mersey to the south of it, at STOCKPORT, STRETTON, and WARRINGTON; and another position at BLACKROD defended the centre of the flat part of South Lancashire to the north of it. Further northwards, a camp at RIBCHESTER guarded the pass of the Ribble, as OVERBOROUGH did that of the Lune as well as those of the hills to the eastwards. Other parts of this mountainous chain were protected by the works of CASTER CLIFF, near Colne, and SLACK, between Blackstone-edge and Halifax. On the west, a camp at LANCASTER guarded the mouth of Lune; but the mouth of the Ribble and the neighbourhood of the present Liverpool appear to have been left, in the Roman period, to the protection of natural fastnesses.

A SECOND DISTRIBUTION OF FORTRESSES followed the acquisition of England by the NORMANS, and situations generally analogous to the ROMAN positions were chosen. Much has been said as to these having been selected along the Mersey, with regard to the jealousies of early Barons in a period when paramount interests on its opposite banks were distinct; but it is probable that the principle on which Norman baronies were apportioned here regarded only the maintenance of Saxon subjugation, and the castles would of course be fixed in the most secure part of each barony. Manchester continued to be a fortress as before, covered, towards the Mersey, by Stockport, Ullerswell and Dunham within the Cheshire palatinate, and by Warrington, as before, on its northern bank; but the defences of the Mersey were now continued seawards by Halton Castle on the Cheshire side, and by another fortress placed at Liverpool by the chief lord of the districts comprised within the future honour of Lancaster. Newton defended the central position of South Lancashire; Castleton, Clithero and Hornby, guarded the passes of the hills, the two latter severally protecting also the Lune and the Ribble; on the latter of which, adjacent to its estuary, a baronial castle was *continued* at Penwortham, which had risen in the Saxon period. The chief fortress of the paramount lord, Roger of Poictou, rose within the site of the Roman camp at Lancaster.

To these were afterwards added the fortified mansions of Lathom, Thurland, and Hoghton; and, at a later period, the castle of Greenhaugh,—which latter ones regarded private interests only, and were distinct from the fortresses consequent on the Norman apportionment in the first instance.

Many of these castles or castellets had fallen to ruin *at the outbreak of the Civil War in* 1642; but Lancaster, Hornby, Thurland, Greenhaugh, Hoghton, Clithero, and Lathom, were defensible, and occupied for military purposes. In other positions the feudal castles were succeeded by fortified towns. Military works, consisting chiefly of mud walls, were thrown up at Manchester, Bolton, Warrington, Liverpool, and Lancaster. Wigan, a new central position, formed what was called "an impregnable piece," covering Lathom, and Preston succeeded to Penwortham in the defence of the Ribble. In the first instance the passes of Blackstone-edge were neglected, but were afterwards fortified by the engineer of the Manchester garrison, which last town was the only Lancashire stronghold that was not in the hands of the Royalists at the commencement of the war.

The next point for discussion relates to the PERSONS OF THE TRAGEDY; at the head of whom must be placed the noble Earl with whose Parliamentary removal from his Lieutenancy the Tracts commence, terminating with his execution. His hereditary influence is described by the chronicler of Lathom Siege as having been locally considered equal to that of the Crown, which it so faithfully supported; and, unpopular as he was at Court, the wavering of the King's advisers as to the propriety of raising the standard at Warrington, in the centre of the Derby interest, was sufficient acknowledgment of his power. The connexion of this influence with Lancashire was of no ordinary antiquity, and was in fact the basis and the cause of the later acquisitions. Estates in Lancashire are considered, on as good grounds as the case admits, to have been inherited by the Stanleys, and their progenitors the Lathoms of Lathom, from previous ancestors in the female line reputed to have held them at a period beyond the range of existing records, and before Lancashire had a name, or separate existence as a County. The foundation charter of Burscough Abbey fixes Robert Fitz Henry de Lathom, in the time of Richard I, at the Lordship from which he derived his name, and which occupies so conspicuous a place in the narratives of this volume; and in 1250, during the minority of William de Ferrers, then Earl of Derby, the King granted to Robert de Lathom (according to the custom of the time) the *custody* of that Earl's "HONOUR OF LANCASTER," the germ of the future PALATINATE. It was one of the most important trusts that could be conferred on a subject, and an earnest of the honourable connexions with Lancashire enjoyed by his descendants.

After the death of Sir Thomas de Lathom in 1382, and that of his son, Thomas de Lathom, in the year following, it is well known that Lathom and Knowsley, with their dependencies, passed to Isabel his daughter, and her husband Sir John Stanley. The rolls of Parliament and the records of the Duchy Office, contain the particulars of their contest with John Duke of Lancaster on behalf of his alleged ward, Elena de Lathom, a rival candidate; but these, and the successive illustrious alliances and diplomatic and chivalrous honours of their descendants, are foreign to the subject. It is proper, however, to advert to the military exertions of the successive Earls of Derby, on the rising of Buckingham, at Bosworth, on the insurrections in favour of Lambert Simnel, and after the dissolution of the monasteries,—all of which had their great and appropriate reward in Lancashire lands, which fell in these movements to the disposal of the Crown. A comparison of the Inquisition taken with respect to the domains of the House of Lathom in 1385, with a later one taken in 13 Hen. VIII, after the death of Thomas Stanley, first Earl of Derby in this line (both of which may be found in the printed calendar of Duchy Records), will illustrate the extent of a part of these rewards of military service, and the additional local influence in Lancashire obtained thereby by their noble proprietor, and his descendants.

It is well known that jesuitical intrigue, based on the vast estates, influence, and royal descent of Ferdinando, the fifth Earl, led to his death by poison in the reign of Elizabeth, and that in the reign of James I the total aggregate of the Derby estates suffered great diminution, in consequence of a partition made between the daughters and co-heiresses of this unfortunate nobleman, and William, sixth Earl of Derby, his brother and heir male; but the Isle of Man, with the Lancashire estates, and other vast domains in adjacent counties, accompanied the descent of the Earldom. These estates, thus partly derived from days of remote antiquity, and partly earned by the services of later generations, were resigned by the same Earl William to his son James before the commencement of the Civil War. The outbreak of those troubles found this last nobleman the Lord Lieutenant of Lancashire, Cheshire, and all the counties of North Wales, and seated among the Peers by summons as LORD STRANGE, in the lifetime of his father, who died in retirement at Chester during the Siege of Manchester.

Such was the deep root of that ancient and mighty influence which was placed by James, Earl of Derby, at the disposal of King Charles, with zeal, fidelity, and self-devotion unconquerable.

Dugdale's Baronage, the Earl's own Memoir, preserved by Peck, and the compilations of Collins and Seacome from Bishop Rutter's MSS., may be consulted, with some qualification, as to points beyond the scope of this work, connected with the Earl's loyal efforts, and the distrust and unkindness which paralysed them. Clarendon perhaps requires more qualification, as reflecting the opinion of an unfriendly court. Rarely has fidelity been more fully proved or more severely tried; "but this will be justified," writes the Earl, in his modest memoir addressed to his son, "that the King had good intents for us, that I have discharged a good conscience in all, and that my honor is safe in spight of the worst detractors."

Next after the head of the Lancashire Royalists, SIR THOMAS TYLDESLEY must be selected from the numerous names in the following series as their unflinching right hand, and on the opposite side GENERAL ASHTON may be considered the decided *local* leader, either with reference to hereditary consequence, ability, or energy, in the general warfare. On particular occasions, the command was taken by Seaton, Fairfax, and Cromwell, and occasional support was given by Sir William Brereton, and the elder Sir George Booth from the sister Palatinate.

Among the military officers and private gentlemen acting as officers under exigencies of the time, will be found the names of several who had served in Germany or the Low Countries, had mingled in the society of those Courts, or were nearly connected with officers distinguished therein, and who were decidedly of that school of arms. Such were Rupert, Byron, Langdale, Monro, Tyldesley, the Gerards, Crane, and Farmer, on the Royal side; and Brereton, Fairfax, and Rosworm, among their opponents.

To the inveteracy of local feelings and bitterness of religious animosity, may be added, as another cause of the duration and severity of the struggle in Lancashire, the nice balance of opposite parties. The petition of the "Recusants," in an early part of the series of Tracts, brings forward a few of those ancient and highly descended families which still constitute so marked a feature in the Lancashire aristocracy; and in a later part will be found the presentation of fifteen thousand Recusants at one Sessions. The greater part of the principal Lancashire Royalists belonged to this class, or were closely connected with it. On the other hand, the populous district round Bolton, termed the "Geneva of Lancashire," had been long considered the very school and centre of Puritanism; and Lancashire itself (formed by the Presbyterians into one ecclesiastical *Province*, "*classically*" distributed) is stated by the biographer of Heywood to have exhibited the most complete specimen of their arrangement and discipline that England possessed. Add to the necessary consequences of such collision of sentiment the well-known energy and uncompromising sternness of the Lancashire character, and it becomes surprising that the horrors of the local tragedy were not more aggravated.

In the early part of the contest, the struggle was chiefly between the hundreds of Salford and Blackburn on one side, and the Royalists of the remaining four hundreds on the other,—Manchester (previous to the fortification of

Bolton) being the only Parliamentary fortress, with a division of opinions in itself, before the siege, and a prevalence of Royalist sentiment in Salford, its suburb. After the repulse of Derby, it continued to be the centre of local Parliamentary strength during the entire contest, and its importance is fully discussed in the pages of Col. Rosworm. It was, in fact, balanced against Lathom, whilst that mansion remained unsubdued. Previous to the fall of that mansion, Manchester supplied from its garrison the forces which reduced the rest of Lancashire, checked the Earl of Newcastle in full success, extended its forays into Cheshire and North Wales, constituted (in Clarendon's opinion) the only position of moment hostile to Charles between Nantwich and Carlisle, and commanded the forbearance of Rupert in his career towards York and Marston. Subsequently, it sheltered the Committees of Lancashire in their hours of danger, and was the point from which Cromwell, Lambert, and Lilburne, in full consciousness of its importance, laboured successively to avert the armies of Hamilton and Charles II, and afterwards the last desperate energies of Derby. It was the point, in short, to use the Earl's phrase, "from which bands of ungodly rebells sallied;" and the place, on the other hand, upon which Vicars and his party showered praises for zeal and indurance, as the town, "next to the most famous and renowned citie of London," in prosperous contention "for God and true religion."

In the year which followed the execution of Derby, Manchester ceased to be a fortress. To use the words of Hollinworth, its chronicler, "the towne was dismantelled, the walls thrown down, the gates sold or carried away."

It was known to the ruling powers that the Lancashire party, which had so steadily supported the Parliament, was unfriendly to the future Protector, and this feeling was strongly evinced in the rising of Sir George Booth in 1659. Under the failure which occurred, such feeling could only show itself in lamentation, but this was deep and general; and when the Restoration arrived, there were few places in which it was welcomed with greater spirit that in Manchester. These events, however, relate to distinct principles of political feeling and action, and form a series of their own, which may be studied with interest in Dr. Hibbert's History of the Collegiate Church, and in Mr. Hunter's Life of Oliver Heywood.

The TRACTS must of course be read with due allowance for their strong and unavoidable party colouring; but the statements, to a certain extent, correct one another, and it is presumed that they will give, collectively, more information as to local events of their day, with reference to dates, and identification of persons, families, and places, than can be found in any other existing documents.

Finally, the Author has pleasure in acknowledging the kind assistance of SIR CHARLES YOUNG, GARTER KING OF ARMS, in permitting various references to the valuable Records of the HERALD'S COLLEGE; and to the OFFICERS of the BRITISH MUSEUM, in facilitating his collations there. He is also indebted to the BISHOP OF LLANDAFF for the loan of an illustrated copy of the Boscobel Tracts; to EDWARD BAINES, ESQ. of Leeds (author of the History of Lancashire), for the loan of his collection of rare Lancashire Tracts, which has supplied two printed in the present volume; and to JAMES CROSSLEY, of Manchester, Esq.

for the use of his copy of the very rare Tract of Colonel Rosworm. To JOHN PALMER, of Manchester, Esq. (author of the History of the Siege of that town) he is indebted for a search in the ancient municipal accounts of that borough, and other information; and to T. DUFFUS HARDY, ESQ. F.S.A. of the Tower Record Office; the REV. JOHN WEBB, M.A. F.S.A. (editor of the Gloucestershire Civil War Tracts); the REV. HENRY O. COXE, M.A. Sub-Librarian of the Bodleian Library; and the REV. JOSEPH HUNTER, F.S.A. (the historian of Hallamshire and South Yorkshire);—for obliging and useful communications.

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## REPRINTED, ABSTRACTED, OR OTHERWISE NOTICED IN THIS VOLUME.

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# TRACTS
# RELATING TO MILITARY PROCEEDINGS IN LANCASHIRE,
## DURING THE CIVIL WAR,
### FROM MDCXLII. TO MDCLI.

## Chapter I.

### PRELIMINARY PETITIONS, ETC. MARCH XII.—JUNE VI. MDCXLII.

## Lancashire Members
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LANCASHIRE.
Ralph Ashton, Esquire
Roger Kirby, Esquire

CLITHERO.
Ralph Ashton, Esquire
Richard Shuttleworth, Gent.

LANCASTER.
John Harrison, Knight
Thomas Fanshaw, Esquire

LEVERPOOLE.
John Moore, Esquire
Richard Wyn, Knight & Bart.

NEWTON.
William Ashurst, Esquire
Roger Palmer, Knight

PRESTON IN ANDERNESS.
Richard Shuttleworth, Esquire
Thomas Standish, Esquire

WIGAN.
Orlando Bridgeman, Esquire
Alexander Rigby, Esquire.

## I.

*To the Honorable the House of Commons now assembled in Parliament, The humble Petition of divers Knights, Esquires, Ministers, Gentlemen, and Freeholders of the Countie Palatine of Lancaster,*[1]

Sheweth,

That your petitioners with all the gratitude that thankful hearts can expresse do acknowledge the fidelitie patience and unparalleld industry of this Honorable House in the indevours to restore to order the discomposed condition of this Church and State; and to put the same into a way to unitie puretie and peace. For purging the fountaines of Government and establishing his Majesties royall throne upon the old and sure foundation of impartiall justice, nationall lawes and subject's love. For the blessed union of two kingdomes to the terror of our enemies, the strength and splendor of both nations. For expunging out of the Church innovations, and confining Churchmen to their proper functions; and the future hopes of a National Synode of able Divines to composse the Civil Warre of the Church, and settle the differences both of doctrine and discipline. For restoring to the subjects of this Kingdome courage, industrie and vivacitie of spirit, by the freedom of their persons and estates. For settling the present fruition and the hopes of a lasting possession of these high and unvaluable benefits, by disposing of the *Militia* and that of the Kingdom under command of persons of honour and unquestionable fidelitie, of which number your petitioners do acknowledge the Noble Lord the L. *Wharton*, appointed by Parliament Lord Lievetant of this Countie, whom with all thankfulnesse they do receive, and according to the power wherewith he shall be trusted, will ever most readily and willingly obey. For giving life by Execution to the Lawes against recusants, and securitie of life to the Protestants by their disarming, for vindication of the Priviledges of Parliament, (the firme Basis of this Government, the inheritance of the Subject and the best guard of his Majestie's Royal person, Crowne, and Dignitie:) So that by the blessing of Almightie God, and the prosperous care of this Honorable House, the practises (whether forraigne or domestick) of the enemies to this State, shall be averted, detected, and brought to nought.

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[1] The series of preliminary documents is commenced with this Petition (presented to the Commons March 12, 1641-2, and preserved among the Broadsides in the British Museum), as containing the recognition, by the Lancashire Parliamentary party, of Lord Wharton as lord-lieutenant of that county in place of James, Lord Strange, nominated by the Commons to the King February 12, and absolutely appointed by them March 5, 1642, on the King's refusing to sanction the nomination. The ordinance appointing the Parliamentary Lieutenants will be found in Rushworth, part iii. vol. i. p. 526, with a power to those new officers to appoint such "persons of quality as to them shall seem meet, to be their deputy lieutenants, to be approved of by both Houses of Parliament."

Such appointment immediately followed; and on March 12 the list of Lord Wharton for Lancashire was approved by the Commons, who recommended to the lord-lieutenant, as fit to be added to it, Sir George Booth, Mr. John Moore,-Sir Thomas Stanley, and Mr. Alexander Rigby of Preston,—all afterwards distinguished partizans in the struggle. To these from time to time others, by successive nominations, were added. The proceedings and declarations consequent hereon will be found at length in Rushworth, among which are more particularly observable the royal proclamation of May 27, forbidding obedience to Parliamentary appointments unsanctioned by the Crown, and the Parliament's declaration of the same day, commanding obedience of all constables and others to its officers.

The list of deputy-lieutenants, as given in by Lord Wharton, has not occurred; but the principal members of the commission (exclusive of those above-named, immediately added by the Parliament) were, in 1642, Sir Ralph Ashton of Whalley and Sir William Brereton of Honford, Ralph Ashton of Middleton, John Bradshaw of Bradshaw, Thomas Byrch of Byrch, —— Dodding of Conishead, Peter Egerton of Shaw, Robert Hide of Denton, Edmund Hopwood of Hopwood, Tho. Standish of Duxbury, and Nicholas Starkie of Huntroyd, Esquires.

Yet in regard the course of these greate affaires, so highly concerning the safetie, plentie, and quiet of the Kingdome hath beene much interrupted by some whose sinister ends or corrupted understandings (capable of no amendment) hath made them active for introduction of publike calamities. And your petitioners being seated in the mouthe of danger, and having fresh and daily spectacles of the Irish cruelties presented to their eyes, cannot but chuse but apprehend feare from the noveltie of so great barbarism, and lest that kingdome (for want of timely ayds) being lost, the war (or rather the massacre) should be transported hither from the opposite shore, where the number of Popish Recusants, and the opportunity of landing, may invite an invasion, Your Petitioners do therefore in all humblenesse present to the consideration of this Honorable Assembly their feares, dangers, and desires; humbly praying

That such persons whether Ecclesiastical or Temporall whose ends and interesses are not the same with the Protestants of this Kingdome may be removed from the great Counsell of the Kingdome.

That the distractions of the Church may be settled by a National Synode.

That the number of preaching Ministers may be augmented in this Countie, and a better distribution of the Church Revenue, that so the Tithes may not be wholly drawne to the Parish Church, and the Ministers of the Chappels far distant be exposed to the exhibition of a poore and ignorant Auditorie.

That as well a provision be made for the distressed (and destitute of all the comforts of this life) our poore brethren of Ireland, that in multitudes daily arrive in this countie; as a speedie ayde advanced to stay the insolencie and crueltie of the enemie, whose boast it is to make the fruitfull parts of this Kingdome the seat of warre, when they have cleared that Kingdome from strangers.

That a Fleet of small ships may be appointed for the guard of this Coast, as well to prevent the ayde and intelligence that may be given to the Rebells from the Papists of these or any other parts, as for defence of your Petitioners and other Protestants, his Majesties faithfull subjects, inhabiting the maritime parts of this Kingdome, opposite to Ireland.

That the Recusants of this Countie may be disarmed, and such Ports or other strengths as yet remain in any of their keepings, may be disposed into the hands of Protestants, and that sufficient guards may be appointed in places convenient, and the *Militia* of the Countie put in a posture of defence of the same.

That the Petition concerning the breach of privileges at the Election of Knights for this County (unparaleld by any Election in this Kingdome as your Petitioners beleeve) as also the other grievances of the Countie (contained in a petition exhibited twelve months since, and more particularly related in a declaration lately presented to some members of this Honorable House) may receive examination and redresse: and that such as shall be found to have been instruments of bringing in an arbitrary and insolent Government may make reparation for the oppressions they have done to their country, and henceforth be excluded from the exercise of that authority which (it may be feared) they would again abuse if they had the like occasion.

And your Petitioners will ever be ready with their lives and estates to defend His Majesties Royal Person, the persons and priviledges of the members of this House, the Protestant Religion and Lawes of this Kingdome, and to bring to condegne punishment all opposers, as they are bound by their late Protestation; and ever to pray for the happy proceedings of this Parliament.

Printed by *Felix Kingston*, 1641.[1]

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[1] The following notice of the reception of this Petition is extracted from the Journals of the Commons:

"The House being informed that divers Gentlemen of the County Palatine of Lancashire were at the Door, who desired to prefer a petition to this House;

"They were called in and did present their Petition:

"And then they withdrew:

"And their Petition was read:

"They were again called in: And Mr. Speaker told them, 'That the House had read their Petition; and do find in it many weighty considerations and great expressions of their care and affection to the Commonwealth, and to this House in particular: For the particulars mentioned in the Petition, they will take them into consideration.'

"*Ordered* to be entered."—*The Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. ii. p. 476, A. 1641, 17 Car I. Sabbati, 12 Martii 1641-2.

II.—*The Humble Petition of the Knights, Esquires, Ministers, Gentlemen, and Freeholders, in the Countie Palatine of Lancaster. Presented May* 2, 1642. *With His Majesties Letter to the Major of Kingston upon Hull*, 25 *of April* (1)64(2). *London. Printed for Andrew Coe*, 1642.

*To the King's most excellent Majesty.*

The humble Petition of the Knights, Esquires, Ministers, Gentlemen, Freeholders, *in the County Palatine* of Lancaster,

*Shewing unto Your sacred Majestie* Our heart-breaking sence, and sorrow, for the unhappy Rents and Distraction in your Majesties Dominions; especially in the Session of so grave and religious an Assembly, and most graciously convened by your Majesty; endeavouring the glory of Almighty God, in the Reformation of Religion, and the Honour and Weale of your Majesties Realmes, in settling and securing your Royall Throne in plenty and peace.

But perceiving the long and remote distance of your Majesty from the Honorable Assembly, to have distracted the hearts of your good Subjects, and animated the Popish and malignant party amongst us, and fearing it may expose us to the fury of a Forraigne Foe, retard the setling of the waighty Affaires of our land and the subduing of the Rebels in *Ireland*, and finding your Majesties late Resolution for the Expedition to threaten danger to your Royall person, farre more worth than 10,000 of us: We therefore your Majesties most loyall Subjects, out of the zeale to Gods true Religion your Majesties honour and safety and the peace and welfare of your Dominions, out of the deepe sence and apprehension, of our intrust in the same, do in all humility present and prostrate ourselves and supplications at your Royall feete, beseeching your Majesty to return to your great Councell, and there present a live body of the Kingdome, in whom the nation hath so far confided, that they have intrusted them with their lives, libertees, and estates, and in which multitude of counsellors there is health and steadfastnesse, and whereby your Throne may be established in righteousnesse; And we with the rest of your faithfull Subjects, shall continually praise and pray for your prosperous and happy Raigne over us.

## III.

Die Sabbati, 28 Maii 1642.

### *An Order of the Lords and Commons in Parliament to the Sheriff of the County of Lancaster, and all other Sheriffs and Lord Lieutenants and Deputy Lieutenants in the Kingdom of England, and Dominion of Wales.*

Whereas it appears that the King seduced by wicked Councell intends to make War against the Parliament, and under the colour of a Guard to secure His Royall Person, doth command Troops both of Horse and Foot, to assemble at *York:* All which is against the Laws of the Kingdom, tending to the dissolution of the Parliament, and destruction of His People.

It is therefore Ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, that the Sheriff of the County of *Lancaster* and all other Sheriffs of the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, shall by the power of that County, and of their several Counties respectively, suppresse the raising and coming together of any Souldiers, Horse, or Foot, by any Warrant, Commission, or Order from His Majesty without the advice and consent of the Lords and Commons in Parliament; and that all persons whatsoever do forbear to execute any such Commission or Warrant for levying Souldiers or gathering them together without consent of Parliament; And those who shall execute or obey any such Commission or Warrant, are hereby declared to be disturbers of the Peace of the Kingdom. And the Lord Lievtenant of the County of *Lancaster*, and all other Lords Lievtenants of all other Counties in the Kingdom of *England* or Dominion of Wales, respectively, As likewise all Deputy Lievtenants, Captains, and Officers of the Trained Bands; And all Mayors, Justices of Peace, and other his Majesties loving Subjects, are hereby commanded and required to be ayding and assisting to the said Sheriff of the County of *Lancaster*; and to the other Sheriffs of the other Counties of this

Kingdom and of the Dominion of *Wales:* And that his Majesties loving subjects may the better understand what the Law and their own Duty is in this behalf. The said Sheriff of *Lancaster* and other Sheriffs of the other Counties of this Kingdom, respectively, shall cause this present Order, forthwith to be published in the severall Market Townes within their said Counties.

Joh. Brown, Cler. Parliamen.

London, Printed for Joseph Hanscott. 1642.

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## IV.

*The Petition of divers of his Majesties faithfull Subjects of the true Protestant Religion in the County Palatine of Lancaster, Presented to his Majestie at York the last of May by the High Sheriffe of that County, and divers other Gentlemen of Qualitie, And subscribed by* 64 *Knights and Esquires*, 55 *Divines,* 740 *Gentlemen, and of Freeholders and others above* 7000. *With his Majesties Answer, June* 6, 1642. London: Printed by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majestie, and by the Assignes of John Bill. MDCXLII.

To the Sacred Majestie of our most Gracious Soveraign Lord Charles by the Grace of God of *England, Scotland, France,* and *Ireland* King, Defender of the Faith, &c.

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[1] This petition was drawn up by Richard Heyrick, sometime Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, and Warden of Manchester, and is mentioned by him in a sermon preached before the House of Commons, May 27, 1646. It was presented May 31 by him and "John Bradshaw of Bradshaw Esq. and very many gentlemen and others of the town and country" (Hollinworth's *Mancuniensis*, 120), and "was crossed by a suggestion at the Court that the petition was not the petition of the county, but of a party, and that there would come shortly up another petition." The royal answer accordingly was not given to the sheriff, Sir John Girlington, before June 6.

See some interesting remarks on this petition in Hibbert's *Public Foundations of Manchester*, i. 188-92, 240.

The humble Gratulation and Petition of divers his Majesties faithful Subjects of the true Protestant Religion, within the County Palatine of *Lancaster.*

*Most Gracious Soveraign,*

The most reall and convincing Testimonies of Your Princelie care for the advancement of God's true Religion in your Majesties Realms, and the common good of all your Subjects, could no lesse then draw from us (who have hitherto in these stirring times sat still) this humble acknowledgement of our due and necessary thanks.

We, with the inmost and choicest thoughts of our souls, do esteem and prize Your Majesties most righteous intentions of governing Your Liege People according to the wholesome Laws of this Kingdom, a thing so often, and with such earnestnesse avowed by Your Sacred Majestie, whereunto we yeeld that heartie credence, which is due to so Religious and Righteous a Prince; We do also with all humility and thankfulnesse, acknowledge Your manifold and evident manifestations to the world, that You affect not an Arbitrary Government, but the common prosperitie and happinesse of all Your loyall Subjects, by Your readinesse to joyn with Your Parliament in a speedie raising of Forces, for a timely suppression of that odious Rebellion in *Ireland;* by Your late Proclamation, for the putting in due execution the Laws against Papists; by Your most gracious condescending to the desires of Your great Councell, in signing the Bills for the Trienniall Parliament; for relinquishing Your Title of Imposing upon merchandize, and Power of pressing Souldiers; for the taking away of the Star-Chamber and High Commission Courts; for the Regulating of the Councell Table; as also the Bills for the Forrests, and Stannarie Courts, with other most necessary Acts: Moreover, we are confident, and well assured of Your Majesties zeal, for the advancement of the true Protestant Religion, and with inexpressible joy do understand Your most Christian and Pious Resolution, for the preservation of those powerfull encouragements of Industrie, Learning and Pietie, the Means and Honour of the Ministerie, for the maintainance and continuance of our Church Government, and Solemn Liturgie of the Church, of long continued and generall Approbation of the most Pious and Learned of this nation, and of other Countries, composed according to the Primitive Patern, by our blessed Martyrs, and other Religious and Learned men: As also Your gracious pleasure, that all abuses of Church and State shall be reformed, according to the modell of Queen *Elizabeths* dayes, of ever blessed and famous memory; By the one, You have weakened the hopes of the sacrilegious Devourers of the Churches Patrimonie; (if there be any such) And by the other, at once provided against all Popish Impieties and Idolatries, and also against the growing danger of Anabaptists, Brownists, and other Novellists; all which Pietie, Love, and Justice, we beseech God to return into Your Royall Bosome. But yet (most Gracious Soveraign) there is one thing that sads our hearts, and hinders the perfection of our happinesse, which is, the distance and misunderstanding between Your Majestie and Your Parliament, whereby the hearts of Your Subjects are filled with Feares and Jealousies, Justice neglected, Sacred Ordinances prophaned, and Trading impaired, to the impoverishing of many of Your Liege people: For the removall whereof we cannot find out any lawfull meanes without Your Majesties Assistance and Direction.

Wherefore we humbly beseech Your most Excellent Majestie to continue your most Christian and Pious resolution of ruling Your People according to the Laws of the Land, and maintaining of the same, of being a zealous Defender of the established Doctrine, Liturgie, and Government of our Church, from Heresie, Libertinisme, and Prophanenesse, an Advancer of Learning, Pietie and Religion, an Encourager of painfull Orthodox Preachers; And whatsoever Your Parliament shall offer to Your Royall view, conducing to this blessed end, the common good, and tranquillitie of Your Subjects, to be pleased to condescend unto, and graciously to confirm: And withall to declare unto us some expedient way, how we may make a dutifull Addresse unto Your Parliament, for the taking away of those Differences and Impediments, which stay the happie proceedings of that most Honourable Assembly, whereof Your Majestie is the Head, (which once removed, we doubt not but You will speedily be as neer Your Parliament in Person, as in affection, that there may be a blessed harmonie between Your Highnesse and that great Councell) And we shall with all alacritie observe the same, humbly tendring our Lives and Fortunes for the preservation of Your Royall Person, Crown, and Dignitie, according to our bounden Dutie and Alleagiance; And heartily praying for Your Majesties long and prosperous Reign over us.

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At the Court at *York*, 6 *June*, 1642,

His Majestie hath commanded me to give you this His Answer to your Petition.

That He is very glad to find such reall acknowledgements of those great Graces which He hath bountifully bestowed upon this His kingdom of *England*, in the time of this Parliament, and likewise it is a great contentment to Him to find so many true Sons of the Church of *England*, as by your expressions in the said Petition doth plainly appear to Him; Assuring you that He shall not yeeld in His Zeal and Constancie for the maintenance of the true Protestant Profession, neither to Queen *Elizabeth*, nor to His Father of ever blessed memory, both against Popish Superstition on the one side, and Schismaticall Innovation and Confusion on the other. In the last place, as He doth take in very good part your desire of a good understanding between His Majestie and His two Houses of Parliament; so likewise, He cannot but much commend the way that you take therein. And as for your Directions, if you will but seriously consider His Majesties just and necessary desires, expressed in His Answers and Declarations since His coming to *York*, your zeal and knowledge will not need more particular Instructions to make such Addresses to both Houses of Parliament as the times require, and befitting such loyall and true affected Subjects to your King and Countrey, as this Petition expresseth you to be.

## Chapter II.

MUSTERS OF THE ARRAY AND MILITIA—MUTUAL ATTEMPTS TO SECURE MAGAZINES—INTENDED BANQUET TO LORD STRANGE AT MANCHESTER, AND CONSEQUENT AFFRAY AND BLOODSHED—PARLIAMENTARY IMPEACHMENT OF THAT NOBLEMAN—ROYAL COMMISSION FOR ARMING RECUSANTS, AND PARLIAMENTARY ORDERS FOR DEFENCE OF MANCHESTER.

JUNE—SEPTEMBER, MDCCXLII.

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### V.

*Lamentable and Sad Newes from the North, viz. Yorke, Lancaster, Darby and Newcastle, sent in a Letter from a Gentleman resident in Yorke, to his friend living in Lumbard Street. Also Strange Newes from Leicester how Colonell Lunsford, Captain Legg, and Mr. Hastings have appeared in a warlike manner, with a true discovery of their intention and the manner of the opposition by the Earle of Stanfoord, Lord Lieutenant of that County. London, Printed for G. Thomlinson and T. Watson.* 1642.[1]

Sir. According to my engagements when I was at *London*, I can do no lesse than advertise you of our newest newes at *Yorke*. . . . . the whole City and County of *Yorke* is frustrate of that happines and fruition, which we might by the providence of God enjoy. But now to the terror and amazement of all true harted protestants, other neighbouring Counties are like (without the aboundant mercy of God) to bee sharers of this dolefull tragedy now acting in the North, for they have already begun their desperate intentions in *Lancaster*, as may appeare by the Lord *Strange* his carriadge there, where with a company of about 700 men hath by vertue of the Commission of Array, disposed of some part of the Magazine there, and hath opposed the Deputy Lieftenant, appointed by the ordinance for the Militia, for putting the same in execution, and likewise it plainly appears by his Majestie's letter to Sir *John Gerlinton* the high Sheriffe of that County to sum up all protestant Subjects with all speed at *Preston*, to heare his Majestie's two declarations and the Lancashire petition to the king and his Majestie's answer thereunto, some of the Committees for *Lancaster* desired the forbearance of them to be read, but hee in contempt of their order from the Parliament departed with some of his friends and cryed out, all that are for the king go with us, crying "for the king, for the king," and so about 400 Persons, whereof the most part of them were popish Recusants, went with him and ridde up and downe the moore and cryed, "for the king, for the king," but far more in number stayed with the Committee and prayed for the uniting of the king and Parliament with a generall acclamation, so that 'tis thought, since the Committees going there, it hath wonderfully wrought upon the hearts of the people; but upon contempt of the committee Sir *John Gerlinton*, Sir *George Middleton*, and Sir *Edward Fitton* are sent for to the House as delinquents, and for *Manchester*, they all stand upon their own guard, with their shops shut up, well affected to the king's Majesty and both his Houses of Parliament, in opposition of any that shall oppose them, and the country round adjoyning, are very observant to any command, to be in readinesse to attend there or elsewhere for the defence of their countrey, lives, liberties, and estates, and the defence of the true protestant religion with their lives and all that is theirs, so that it is now probable that the Lord *Strange* hath dismissed the most part of his men, and is weary of what hee hath begun, seeing no more supply come to his Lordship, and heareing of the stay of some of his engines of warre, to bee sent to him stayed at the *bell-savage fleet bridge* according to his expectation. We also credibly heare the Colonel *Lunsford* and Captain *Legge* have appeared at *Leicester* with about 500 men, . . . . but what the event will be the Lord knowes.

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[1] The meeting on Preston Moor, convened by the Sheriff, is said to have been attended by Lord Strange (the Royalist Lord Lieutenant), Lord Molineux, Sir George Middleton of Leighton, and Sir Edward Fitton of Gawsworth. The commission of array was announced by him as directed to Lord Strange, himself, Sir George Middleton, Sir Alexander Radclyffe of Ordshall, Mr. Tyldesley (then resident at Mierscough), and Mr. William Farrington. After the meeting, the Sheriff seized, in the king's name, the magazine at Preston, and the Lord Strange that of Liverpool; on the communication of which event, by Rigby, to the deputy lieutenants in and near Manchester, the proceedings took place detailed in the next tract. (See Hibbert's *Hist. of the Collegiate Church*, i. 192.)

We also heare from *Newcastle* that the Earle of *Newcastle* hath placed about 500 men in garrison, . . . . . seeing such strange combustions beginning to arise. Thus having certified you of the truest newes that is now amongst us, which I pray God in his good time to cease all such turbulent and malicious disturbers of this commonwealth, with my best respects to your selfe and love to all my friends, with the next convenience you shall heare from me. In the mean time I take my leave and rest. Your assured loving friend, *Will. Ienkinson.*[1]

## VI.

*Severall Letters from the Committees in severall Counties to the Honourable William Lenthall Esquire, Speaker of the House of Commons, read in both Houses of Parliament June* 27, 1642. *Wherein (amongst divers other Passages very remarkable) is related how the Townsmen of Manchester put themselves into arms, and stood upon their defence against the Lord Strange and his Forces who came to seize on the Magazine.*

*With an intercepted Letter from Sir Edward Fitton to Sir Thomas Aston at York: Discovering a fowl design of the malignant Party. Whereunto is added severall Votes of both Houses.*

*Die Lunæ* 27 *Junii* 1642. Ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament that these votes and four Letters be forthwith Printed and Published.

Joh. Brown, Cler. Parliamentorum.

London, Printed for Joseph Hunscott and John Wright. 1642.

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[1] The parts omitted, marked by breaks, do not relate to Lancashire.

To the Honourable WILLIAM LENTHALL Esquire, Speaker of the House of Commons, these present.

HONOURABLE SIR,

The high Sheriff of *Lancashire* having surprized the powder and match at *Preston* as you have received Advertisements by a letter herewith sent from M. *Rigby*, who instantly gave notice thereof to M. *Ashton* of *Middleton*, for prevention of the like in *Manchester*, where 10. barrels of Powder, and some few bundles of match were lodged in a room of a house[1] belonging to the Lord Strange and by him lent for the keeping thereof: M. *Ashton* forthwith repaired to *Manchester*,[2] and then Sir *Alexander Ratcliffe*, and M. *Thomas* Prestwich, two of the Commissioners in the Commission of Array from the King, and M. *Nicholas Mosley*, and *Thomas Danson* the under Sheriff endeavoured to take away that Powder and Match, but were prevented by M. Ashton, who, with Sir *Thomas Stanley*, and others Deputy Lievtenants, took it, and removed it into other places of the Town: and thereupon my lord Strange, who had upon Munday last seized and taken away above 30 Barrels of Powder, and a great quantity of Match from *Leverpool*, parcell of the Countries Magazine, did, with many armed Forces, repair to a Town called *Bury*, near *Manchester*, but 20 miles distant from his own house. This appearance of his, strook a great terrour and amazement into the Countray, so that instantly, for their safety and defence, the Townsmen of *Manchester* put themselves into

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[1] The residence of the former priests of the dissolved college of Manchester, now known as Chetham's Hospital, and then (under grant from the crown) the property of the Earl of Derby.

[2] The visit of Mr. Ashton of Middleton (afterwards colonel-general) was a consequence of the circular address to the parliamentary deputy lieutenants (printed in the Valley of Achor, following), issued by their friends in Manchester, on hearing from Rigby of the seizures of magazines at Preston and Liverpool, as mentioned in p. 13. In the same Tract will be found the announcement issued by the deputy lieutenants on taking into their hands the magazine of Manchester.

Other particulars respecting the fortifying of Manchester by the lieutenancy, on this emergency, under apprehension of an attack by Lord Strange, from Bury, will be found in Hibbert's *Manch. Coll. Ch.* i. 196.

Arms, and many of the parts Adjacent came voluntarily in unto them for their assistance; being come together we and divers others of the Deputy Lievtenants mustered and trained them, and with them began to execute our instructions for the *Militia*, and then stood in a posture of defence, as yet we do: And we and our fellow Deputy Lievtenants, though our Forces were for the present much stronger than those of the Lord *Strange*, as we doubt not he well understood, did nevertheless, for prevention of effusion of blood, send unto him upon Thursday last two, and yesterday three of our selves to treat with him, and to attone the businesse: the result of these Treaties was, That his Lordship offered, That if we would return the Powder and Match into his hands, in the place from whence it was taken, then he would deposite them into the hands of some of us, and of M. *Robert Holt*, one of his own Deputy Lievtenants by Commission from the King; whereunto we and our fellow Deputy Lievtenants could not assent, so that upon those treaties, in those two dayes nothing is yet done therein; however, yesterday the Lord *Strange* dismissed divers of his Forces, so that but few men did yesterday appear about him, which occasioned us and our fellow Deputy Lievtenants to suffer many of our Forces which came out of the neighbouring Towns, to return to their own houses; and this morning we have again for the like purpose as formerly, sent to his Lordship one of ourselves, who is not yet returned; and since whose departure from us, we hear that there are new Proclamations sent from *York*, to be published in this County, against us and our proceedings upon your Instructions; that the King will be suddenly here with us, with great Forces; but yet we have not seen or heard any of these Proclamations. We have this week discovered a foul designe, by a letter from Sir *Edward Fitton*, of *Gawsworth* in *Cheshire*, Baronet, directed to Sir *Thomas Aston*, and intercepted by us; which Letter we have here inclosed sent unto you, having no other information touching the Contents of that Letter but what is therein contained, save onely that Sir *Edward Fitton* came yesterday very uncivilly amongst us and our fellow Deputy Lievtenants, and required the Letter; and he and M. *Peter Danyell* the younger have given out great threats against some of us for taking and detaining that Letter. Our high Sheriff, and his fellow Commissioners of Array, will readily, as we conceive alwayes upon all occasions, endeavour the power of the County against our proceedings upon your Instructions. These are all whereof we can for the present advertise you, onely in regard we dayly expect and fear great Insurrections of popish Protestant professors, Papists, and other malignant persons; which to prevent, as also to strengthen us in our proceedings in the *Militia*, we should infinitely rejoyce in the presence of the Lord *Wharton* our Lievtenant and such other speedy assistance as you should hold meet for.

*Your most humble and*
*faithfull Servants,*
RAPHE ASSHETON,
JOHN MOORE,
ALEX. RIGBY.[1]

*Manchester* in *Lincolnshire*,[2]
25 *of June*, 1642.

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For his truly honoured Friend, Sir THOMAS ASTON, Baronet, at his lodging, *York;* present these 27 *Junii* 1642.

NOBLE SIR,

I shall ever acknowledge it as an honour done unto me your poor Kinsman and servant, as that you did own me, in being so noble and friendly unto me while I continued at *York*. As also the favour you did me, in bringing me to kisse the hands of him, to whom my life, my fortunes, and all that hath dependance on me, hath been ever, and ever shall be laid at His Majesties feet, to do him what service I am able. Sir, this day I have met with my fellow Commissioners concerning the Subsidies now in hand; we have chosen a Collector for the gathering of them, and appointed the Country, that they should with all convenient speed pay in the money; which I doubt not but will be within the compasse of a fortnight. I moved the Commissioners, that the Collectors should keep the money in their hands: But I found they were unwilling of it; I did not presse them over much to it, in regard that this money is to be paid into the Lord Major of *Yorkes* hands; as also *Yorkshire, Cumberland,* and *Westmerland*, with many other Counties. If you look into the Act, it will better satisfie you, Sir, I conceive, that if His Majestie would be pleased to send to the Lord Major of *York*, and the Citizens, that they should not part with the moneys untill they knew his farther pleasure, it might more properly be staid there than here, until His Majestie be satisfied, that the money go the true way it was intended. But if His Majestie like not that way, and I might know the way how for to stop it here, I would zealously perform it in what lyes in my power: And I hope His Majestie will send me a Commission for the acting what I do.

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[1] Rigby's Letter to the Speaker, giving an account of the proceedings of the Royalists and Lord Strange at the meeting on *Preston Moor* (dated June 24, 1642) is printed in Baines's *Lancashire*, iv. 312.

[2] So printed, by error, in the original.

Sir *William Brereton* will be upon Saturday (as I hear) at *Chester*, to settle the *Militia* of this County for the Parliament if he can; you know what a spirit he is of, and having a company of Roundheads about him, may much advantage him about *Chester;* he is so near unto his Decoy, that he may send out his Ducks every way to fetch in others: what will be done in contradiction of him, I know not; for I hear nothing of my Lord *Strange's* stirring yet, nor of any Commission that is come from him. (Sir) I may assure you that the major part of this Hundred of *Manchester*, where I live, will stand right. And now I will trouble you no further; only this I should wish from you, to favour me with three or four lines by this Bearer, to know what service I may do unto my King: And that you will be pleased if there be any news stirring to impart some of it unto me, and I shall acknowledge it as an extreme favour done unto me; And ever remain

Your Kinsman and most true Servant,
EDWARD FITTON.

If my Lord *Rivers* be at Court, I beseech you present my most humble service to him.

*Gawsworth*, 22 *June* 1642.

⁂ The rest of this Pamphlet does not relate to Lancashire.

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## VII.

*A True and Perfect Diurnall of all the Chiefe Passages in Lancashire from the* 3 *July to the* 9. *Sent to five Shopkeepers in London from a friend, July* 9, 1642. London, printed for *T. U.* 1642.

A true and perfect *Diurnall* of all chiefe passages in Lancashire from the 3 of July to the 9.

At the intreaty of Master Rigbie (my noble friend) I went along with him to Manchester, and there I saw the Militia put in execution, and there was a strong appearance, in number 7 or 8000, well furnished with musketts and pikes, and compleatly trained by the Captains that were there, and there was a greate shout for halfe an houre "*for the King and Parliament, for the King and Parliament*," and at night they were dismist. Master *Rigbie* told me as we went along that they sent a letter unto him from *Manchester* upon Saturday in the night, and the messenger came unto him about one a clock: the contents of the letter was to meet the rest of the Committee at Manchester, upon Munday betimes. So he wrote an answer by the same messenger who stayed at Walton by a watch which was set by Sir *Gilbert Houghton*, before whom they brought him, and he delivered him Master *Rigbie*'s letter, and upon

Sunday in the morning Sir *Gilbert* sent for M. *Rigbie,* and being come he told him he had a Commission from the King to break open all such letters; Master *Rigbie* asked him if he had taken the protestation, and he told him he had. Then he demanded his letter of him in the name of all the Commons of England; and further told him, if he broke it open, it might be he might be the first man that should be made an example in Lancashire; and then he delivered him his letter unbroken up, and intreated him to stay and dine with him, which he did; and when they were at dinner one M. *Dawton,* a great recusant, and M. *Tylsley,* came in as familiarly to Sir *Gilbert,* as if they had been Haile fellow, well met. And M. *Rigbie* told *Gilbert* and M. *Tylsley,* he could like them well, if they were not so familiar with Papists. This day after the company was dismist, the Committee sate some four houres; M. *Ashton,* M. *Rigbie,* and M. *Shuttleworth,* and the Gentlemen that were with them, viz. Sir *George Booth,* a Cheshire Knight, Sir *Thomas Stanley,* M. *Howcroft,* M. *Holland,* M. *Starkie.*

### *Tuesday, July* 5.

This day the Committee and the said Gentlemen sate from eight in the morning till eight at night, and about three of the clock they sent out a Serjeant at Arms, which came from the parliament with an order to my L. *Strange* to deliver the Magazine again to the severall townes from whence he had taken it, but M. *Rigbie* told me this day, being *Thursday,* that he had heard nothing from the Serjeant, nor from the messenger that went with him: They went to a place called Knutsforth in Cheshire, where it is thought my Lord would be, for there he did intend this day to assemble great forces, but Master *Rigbie* told me there was not past 600, and I thinke my Lord was not there himself.

### *Wednesday, July* 6.

As I returned home from Manchester to *Preston,* in *Walton* I overtooke M. *Kirbie,* the Knight of our Shire, and there was in his companie one *Chorley* of *Chorley,* (a seducing Papiste, a fit companion for so lukewarm a Protestant) and these were very familiar together. M. *Kerbie* asked me what companie there was there; I told him trulye, and in scorne he told me that the Lord *Strange* did heare that there was a Serjeant come from the Parliament for him, and because they should not thinke he would flee from him, he staid at *Knowsley* to give him entertainment if he came, but what entertainment he did meane, I cannot tell. A false messenger came this day to Sir *Gilbert Houghton*, and told him that the Lord Wharton was come to *Manchester* with 20,000 men, whereupon he sent with all speede to all his tenants, and commanded them, that they should be readie upon an hower's warning, and set a stronge watch about his house, but I thinke there was no brags in our towne for that day. Then they let honest Protestants go through the streets without scoffing at them, and calling them Roundheads, and *Tylsley* posted up and downe in great feare: it was well if he kept all cleane: and how should it be otherwise, seeing they oppose the King's Majesties Royall Authority, in the High Court of Parliament, the old and good government of England, the libertie of the subject, the peace and welfare of this land, yea and the pure Protestant religion itselfe, of which when their consciences accuse them, they are filled with guilt and feare, and so cannot stand before God and his armie. If the Knight of this Shire had been at Manchester, you would have seen him here this week's end, they would have sent him up unto you. One of his bum-bailies came bragging to M. *Rigbie* as soon as were lighted, and told him he was a coming, but it was too good news to be true, he dare not show his face there.

### *Thursday*, *July* 7.

This day it is reported, that the King made towards Hull with all his forces upon Tuesday last, and swore he would either take the towne or leave his bones under the walls; but Sir *John Hotham* drawing up the sluce, his Majesty retreated, as there is a book in print to that purpose. They say my Lord *Digbie* is with him for certain, and that there were two ships coming for York from Holland with 300,000 li, and laden also with munition, but were met by the Kings Ships under the command of the Earle of Warwick. The one of the two overran them, and the other they ran ashore, neere unto Hull in a creeke butt. Of this I believe you have heard more fully then I. My Lord *Strange* this night is at *Walton*, with Sir *Gilbert Houghton*, and the High Sheriffe, and Tylsley is there, and they have commanded all betwixt 16 and 60 to be at Preston tomorrow, with the best armes they have. My Lord intends to be there himselfe, but what the event will be, I cannot yet tell. The *Sheriffe* hath been with the Lord *Strange* all this weeke: I beleeve hee's the refuge he flyeth unto when he is in danger.

*Friday*, *July* 8.

Yesterday it was commonly reported M. Pym was run from Parliament, which gave great heartning to the malignant party, but by the Diurnall I see it is false. M. *Tylsley* yesterday night said unto *Luke Hodgkinson* in Sir *Gilbert's* buttery that he was told M. Major of *Preston* had thought to have cast him in *Prison*, which if he had he would this day have pulled downe the prison, and M. Major's house should have been set on fire, if he would not have released him. Truly it were well if the Parliament would send for this *Tylsley*, for he is a Captaine, one of the Commission of array, and doth more harme than any man I know. Yesternight when the Lord *Strange* was at supper he received a packet of letters from York, what they were I cannot tell. This day in the morning I spoke with the Serjeant, and he hath delivered the order from the Houses to the L. *Strange*, and he first told him he would return an answer by word of mouth by him, and afterwards he told him he would send an answer himselfe to Parliament. Five men gave one *Roger Haddock* of Chorley very sore strokes and broke his head to the very scull, because he went with the Serjeant as a messenger to shew him my Lord's house. The soldiers are all marched out of the Towne to the number of 4000, as I thinke, but the poste is in going, and what this day will bring forth I cannot tell, but they say they shout "for the King, and my Lord Strange," and the Sheriffe have set foure barrels of beere abroache at the high Crosse to make the soldiers drinke as they returne backe. The Serjeant is here to arrest the Sheriffe, but it is to no purpose till the company be gone. If the Lord *Strange*, the Sheriffe, Sir *Geo. Middelton* and *Tylsley* were with you, we should all be quiet. Here are many Papists; I beleeve a catalogue of the names of the cheefe of them are sent up. *Tylsley's* Lieutenant and one of his Serjeants are Papists. I shall write you more of this dayes proceeding, the next poste my Lord is with them over the moore. Read this letter be sure to M. W. my brother W provide for our safety: we are beset with Papists: I dare not go to the Moore, but my . . . . was there, and they told him he was a roundhead, and swore they would kill him. So he came from amongst them. I am in haste. Vale.

*Friday the* 8 *of July*
1642.

## VIII.

*The Beginning of Civil Warres in England, or terrible news from the North.* Printed by order of Parliament. July 9, 1642.

The Malignant Party of this Kingdom hath for a long time continued in their wicked and damnable designs; insomuch that their impudence is grown to such a height, that they are not ashamed to

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[1] The editor has only been able to meet with a republication of this tract in Palmer's *Siege of Manchester*, but is assured by Mr. Palmer that it is exactly given. It is thought right to insert it, as being a Parliamentary publication, and that readers may exercise their own judgment on it; but so far as the editor can judge, it is correctly characterized by Mr. Hibbert as a base attempt to excite the country against Lord S. by the most untrue and calumnious reports. (*Manch. Coll. Ch.* i. 197.) If otherwise, it would be difficult to suppose that the events would have been overlooked in the preceding "Diurnall," in the *Valley of Achor*, and in the Impeachment of Lord Strange,—the

make their intentions publickly known to the whole world, as may appear by the ensuing Relation.

Upon the 4th of this instant Month of July, 1642, the Lord Strange came from York, and approached near the Town of Manchester with a great number of Armed Men, and, coming neer the Town, he sent to the Inhabitants thereof to know their Minds, whether they would agree to the Propositions which he had sent them two or three days before for the restoring of the Magazine which were in that Town to his own Custody, threatening them that if they would not, he would send such a Messenger that would make them Yield, and bring them in due Subjection.

The Inhabitants having received this Message Resolved to send their Answer unto him, which they did accordingly, that for the Magazine which was in that Town, they would not restore it to him, it being the only safeguard and Defence they had.

And they likewise declared that if his Lordship did take any other Course to seize upon it violently, they would loose their dearest lives in defence thereof, by reason the Country was in such a great distraction and perplexity that they did not know how soon they might be dispossest of all they had, if so be they had not Arms to defend themselves withall.

The Lord Strange having received this Answer and hearing what their resolution and intention were, hee was much perplexed in mind, drawing all his forces together, he marched against the said

two last of which record the affray on the 15th connected with Lord Strange's passage through Manchester from Bury to the proposed banquet, and very different proceedings, but notice no earlier bloodshed on the 5th, or anything according with the statements here given. The tract is alluded to in *Manchester's Resolution* following, and one passage quoted from it, but it is by no means cited as unquestionable authority.

Another tract on this subject, in the late collection of Mr. Heywood, has eluded the editor's enquiries, but was probably little more than another edition of the present. The title is subjoined :

"The beginning of the Civil Warres in England, or a Skirmish between Lord Strange and the Inhabitants of Manchester in Lancashire, July 14(4?) &c. Likewise a letter which the Lord Strange sent to the Gentry of Manchester, July 5, with their Answer, together with the Parliament declaration concerning the said Lord. Ordered to be printed. Hen. Elsyng, Cler. Parl. D. Com. London, Tompson, July 9, 1642."

Towne of Manchester, and shot off three or four Muskets against them, but the Inhabitants seeing that he were come, and that hee were resolved to take away the Magazine by force, understanding his full intention by the Messengers which Came from him, they Resolved every Man to fight it out.

Whereupon each Man stood upon his own guard, and about 9 of the Clock in the Morning of the 5th day of this present Month the Lord Strange came with his forces against the Town, and would have entered, but they kept him out by force, but Captain Smith, being in the front, gave a fierce firing against the Inhabitants of Manchester, but was answered with most puissant Courage again, and slew two of the Lord's Men.

Whereupon a great and furious Skirmish did ensue; the Lord Strange having besieged the Town, he began to give Battell against them; but the Inhabitants being true within themselves, ordered the business so well, that they drew out ten small Companies, and set them in a faire Battalion against them, answering each other very furiously at the first; but after some two or three houres skirmish, there were Seven more of the Lord STRANGE's Men Slain, and two of the Inhabitants of Manchester; onely one Master Band was shot in the Thigh. After they had ceased two or three houres, they ended the Battle with the Sun of the Day, the LORD STRANGE withdrawing his forces about two Miles from Manchester; having lost, as is justly supposed, 27 Men; of the other Side 11. Capt. Band is well recovered again, praised be GOD.

Wee expect daily when the LORD STRANGE will visit us again; but I hope the Lord will enable us against his Coming. They gave out Many threatening Speeches against us, and it is thought here that he hath sent for many more forces towards YORK.

The Lord Rivers gives out many Scandalous Speeches against us, and striveth by all Means he possibly can, to set the Whole country against us.

This is the beginning of CIVILL WARRE, being the first stroke that hath been struck, and the first Bullet that hath been shot; but GOD knowes when the ending will be, or when the troubles of this Kingdom will grow to a period. Many thousands I doubt will loose their Lives, before that this Kingdom will be settled in peace and unity, as it hath bin formerly; for no man knoweth the Cruelty of War, but those that have felt and tried it; for when that time cometh, many a child will be Fatherlesse, and many a poore wife Husbandlesse.

But God of his great Mercy stop the Sword from going any furthur, and as it is but a little way drawn, so LORD I beseech thee sheath it again, before that it be drawn any further, that so by that Means the Walls of Syon may not be beaten down, nor destroyed.

It is ordered that the Lord Strange be required to deliver that part of the Magazine of the County of Lancaster into the hands of the Deputy Lieutenants.

Ordered that this be printed and published
JOHN BROWN, Cler. Parl.

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## IX.

*Manchesters Resolution against the Lord Strange, with the Parliaments endeavour and care for the prevention of such sad Calamities that may ensue upon the Nation, by their severall Votes resolved upon in the House of Peers and in the House of Commons, for the securing the Kingdome of England, and the Dominion of Wales.* John Brown, Cler. Parliament.

*Also a remarkable passage concerning his Majesty's blocking up of Hull, July* 12. London, printed for A. Coe, 1642.

[The pamphlet commences with general reflections on the malignant party, and the affronts offered by them to the king's majesty and his government, and reports that eight thousand men are speedily to be sent to the northern parts from France and Spain. That arms and ammunition are to be sent to Newcastle, and there placed under the direction of captains and cavaliers shrewdly suspected to be of the malignant party. That the Pope's nuncio is also reported to have been engaged in raising troops, and soliciting the kings of France and Spain to lend the king of England four thousand men a-piece. That the queen had provided certain ships laden with ammunition to go towards the north, and that Lord Digby, who was impeached by the Parliament of high treason, Mr. Piercy, the Earl of Northumberland's brother, and Mr. Jermyn, and divers others that ran away the last year, "are all a comming over (as they say) with a great fleet from Denmark." The tract then proceeds as follows :]

"And (if fame be true, and we may give credit to a printed pamphlet which this day came forth) there have been strokes given and bullets shot here in *England*, which is lamentable to consider that there should be civill warres at this time amongst us. Upon the fourth day of this instant month of July there was a skirmish between the Lord *Strange* and the inhabitants of Manchester in Lancashire. The occasion whereof was (as that booke makes mention) through the Lord *Stranges* resolution to take away their magazine by force, having received for that purpose many forces from Yorke. Tis very strange, if this be true; I wish it may be false: if it be not, I am certaine it is an ill omen to the peace of England, and doth prognosticate no good tidings to the City of London. If this be the beginning of civill warre, God knows (and no mortall but he) when the ending will be. When that dreadfulle time is once come (as God forbid it ever should) many a weake wife will be husbandlesse, and many a poore childe fatherlesse. There will be mourning and lamentation in our Cityes and Countries, many Rachels mourning for their children because they are not, many thousands will then lose their lives before that this kingdom be agine setled in peace."

[After general reflections on civil wars, and their particular effects in Germany and Ireland, and the disastrous consequences of keeping up two armies as in the late struggle with Scotland, the writer goes on to say that, to prevent such calamities in England, Parliament has given orders to the Earl of Warwick, admiral of his Majesty's navy, to stop all arms, ammunition, &c. and has placed the militia and the kingdom in a posture of defence, as "by their several votes doth here appeare, for the safety and security of the kingdom."]

⁂ The rest of the Pamphlet does not relate to Lancashire.

## X.

"*To the King's Most Excellent Majesty: The Humble Desires of The High Court of Parliament. Declaring the Grounds and chief Motives that induce them to proceed in this Course of Raising a Guard to defend themselves against all such, as should oppose them. With the Grounds of their Fears, collected into severall Hedds. Also Horrible News from Manchester, declaring a great Skirmish betwixt the Lord Strange's Forces and the Followers of the Deputy Lieutenant. July* 19.[1]

"*Whereunto is annexed the Parliaments Protestation to the Kings most Excellent Majesty.*

"*Ordered that this be printed and published.*
"JOHN BROWN, Cler. Parl.
"HEN. ELSING, Cler. Parl. D. Com.
"*July* 23. London. Printed for A. Coe."

. . . . . "Upon the 19[1] of this present month, the Lord *Strange* came to *Manchester*, giving command that all men from the age of 18 to 50 should meet in such Arms, as they could furnish themselves withall, which was accordingly effected, and there met him at the least 3000 of the inhabitants of *Manchester* and the neighbouring villages. On the same day the Deputy Lieutenants appointed by the Parliament came to put the Ordinance of the Militia in execution: betwixt home grew a desperate Combat, the followers of the Lord Strange shooting at the said Deputy Lieutenants and wounded divers of their followers: insomuch that many of the Gentry of the Town were compelled to leave the Town for their own security.

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[1] A typographical error for July 15, which was the day of the banquet offered to Lord Strange, noticed in the two *following* tracts, and which is obviously the day *here* alluded to, as will appear by comparison of the facts and persons mentioned.

## XI.

*News from Manchester, being A perfect Relation of the passages, which hapned there, between the Lord Strange and the Commissioners for the Militia. Together with the occasion and other circumstances of their skirmishing and the number and state of thos3 which were slain and wounded. As also how the Magazine for that County is disposed of.*

*Sent in a Letter from M. Jo. Rousgore, an eye-witnesse and an Inhabitant of the said Town of Manchester.*

*July* 23. Printed for T. N. 1642.

Sir,

My humble requests unto you; I have not any thing to write unto you about, save onely to acquaint you with some sad passages that happened yesternight here at Manchester.

My Lord *Strange*, yesterday six miles from *Manchester*, viz. at *Bury*, by virtue of the Commission of Array, summoned all persons of able body, betwixt sixteen and sixty years of age, to meet him there with such arms as they had, which was performed accordingly, whereof 2000 went forth of *Manchester* and the neighbouring villages. After in the evening about four of the clock, the Townsmen of *Manchester*, hearing my Lord was coming to lodge all night at Sir *Alexander Radcliffs* house, went to meet him on the way and invited him to take a banquet at *Manchester*, which his Lordship courteously accepted of; and about five of the clock came into *Manchester* attended with about 120 horse well accoutered. My Lord and the Townsmen were all agreed about the Magazine, his Lordship promising the Town to joyn with them in any reasonable thing they would propose, and withall that he would stay with them till Monday Morning: But in the mean while Captain *Holcroft*, Sir *Thomas Stanley* and your Cosin *Birch*, who were appointed Commissioners for the Militia, began to strike up their Drum, to put the Militia in execution, in another part of the Town; which when my Lord *Strango* and my Lord *Mollineux* heard, they came and met them and some blows passed on both sides, but two men of your Cosin *Birch* his Company are shot, one of which dyed this morning, and nine more are mortally wounded. There are, on my Lord *Strange* his side, some eleven or twelve men wounded mortally; your cosin *Birch* was shot at twice, yet escaped with some few blows, by means of a Coach that stood in the street.

The Townsmen are all gone to my Lord and to Sir Alexander *Radcliffs* House this morning to disavow the quarrel and to intreat his Lordship to joyn with them, to expell Captain *Hollcroft* and the rest of the Town, that upon some private grudges would have occasioned a generall quarrell betwixt his Lordship and the Town. What the issue will be, God best knows; But I hope all wil be well, for my Lord and chief of the Town are all agreed. I made bold to write, because I beleeve you may perhaps hear a more terrible relation then is true.

Your obliged Sonne in Law,
16 *July* 1642. *John Rousgore.*

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## XII.

*A verie true and credible relation of the severall passages at Manchester on the* 15*th of July last* 1642, *wherein is specified an Invitation of the Lord Strange unto a Banquet, whose life was afterwards much endangered by Sir Thomas Stanley Baronet, John Holcroft Esquire, Thomas Birch Gentleman, as will be attested upon Oath, with the declaration of the better sort of the townesmen of Manchester.* London, printed by T. Fawcet, July 29, 1642.

A very true and credible relation of the severall passages at *Manchester*, the 15th of *July* last 1642.

My Lord *Strange* being invited the 15 of this Moneth to the towne of *Manchester*, by neare twenty of the chiefe men and officers there, unto a banquet that afternoone, he being then accompanied with the High Shereff of *Lancashire*, the Lord *Molineux*, Sir *Gilbert Haughton*, Sir *Alexander Radcliffe*, Mr. *Holt* of *Stubley*, Mr. *Farrington*, Mr. *Prestwich*, Mr. *Tilsley*, and other gentlemen of the best ranke in the shire, accepted the loves of the said towne, and his Lordship in his coach, attended with some thirty of his owne horses, being but his ordinary attendance, and met with at least a hundred horse of the said towne, being the Inviters and their friends. At the entrance into the towne, were divers expressions of joy from the Inhabitants, as continued acclamations, bonfires, the streets strewed with flowers &c. His Lordship being with all the chiefe men at *Manchester* in the house of Mr. *Greene* at the Banket, his Lordship stayed not a quarter of an houre, but word was brought of Mr. *Holcroft* marching in the towne with souldiers armed with pikes and muskets, with their matches lighted and cockt, also a drum beating before him to assemble more companie (their muskets also were charged with bullets, as appeared by those which were taken from them) who presented themselves in the street in a warlike posture, and at that time two other companies in like manner assembling in two severall streets of the said towne environed his Lordship.

Mr. Sheriffe understanding this plot and practise while he was in the chamber with his Lordship, ran hastily downe for prevention of the pretended inconvenience, but finding my Lords horse before his owne, made use thereof, he found Mr. *Holcroft* neere the Crosse with divers armed men, whereupon the Sheriffe did command him and the rest in his Majesties name to lay down their armes, keepe the peace and cease the tumult, but Mr. *Holcroft* unwilling at the first to obey, notwithstanding the proclamation according to the statute, charg'd him with disobedience to his Majesties laws. My Lord observing the Sheriffes long stay, and desiring to assist for the preservation of the peace, and missing his owne horse or any other, was forc't to goe along the street afoot without any of his ordinary servants, and made his own way through the people, untill at the end of the streete he met a horse of Sir *Alexander Radcliffe*, and in his passage was shot at with two pistols out of a window by Sir *Thomas Stanley*, and another by him, as will be deposed, but God be thanked, they both missed; he was also seen at the said window charging his pistoll; there was also a muskett shot at his Lordship from a shop in the streete, which was seene to hit the wall neare by him. My Lord, with the Sheriffe going their intended way, met a new company, who thronged the streets, and endeavoured to stop the passage with pikes and muskets. Their Captaine, one *Birch*, bad them give fire, but the raine being so great, put out most of their matches; and being resolutely commanded to advance their pikes were much afraid, and some obeyed, especially their Captaine, who hid himself under a cart which stood in the streete;[1] the men seeing themselves overcome, submitted and retired. The place being cleared, his Lordship with the rest were going out of towne, but suddenly some came in the reare, and cutt a gentleman in the head and struck him off his horse. A son of that gent rescuing his father was also wounded; it is thought one of them is in great danger; the man that struck the old gent was shot,[2] but not knowne yet by whom. This bloody assassinate was followed with great cunninge and eagernesse by Sir *Thomas Stanley* and Mr. *Holcroft*, both his Lordships knowne enemies. They be men of decayed fortunes and much indebted, ready to leave the countrey, wherefore they thought convenient to build some hopes on others ruines, assuring themselves if that towne were in good tearmes with my lord, it would end all their hopes, thinking by this divelish plot to master the countrey by taking away his Lordships life, as may appeare by testimony offer'd to produce the party hired to murther his Lordship, affirming if the towne were so kind then unto his Lordship to entertain him with a banquet, they would give him a second to breake the peace.

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[1] Seacome (House of Stanley) states the malice of Henry Bradshaw, Rigby and Birch, towards Lord Derby, to have originated—as to Bradshaw, in a refusal of the vice-chamberlainship of Chester; as to Rigby, in his ill-success at Lathom; and as to Birch (here mentioned) in his lordship's having "trailed him under a *hay-cart* at Manchester, by which he got, even among his own party, the deserved epithet of *Lord Derby's Carter*."—p. 133.

[2] Richard Parcival, of Kirkman's Hulme, linen webster, said to be the first person whose blood was shed in the war. See Impeachment of Lord Strange. In the entry of burials at the collegiate church he is thus recorded: "1642. Julie 18. Richard Parcivall of Grindlowe."—*Extract communicated by Mr. Palmer.*

When the Gentlemen of Manchester did invite my Lord into the towne, his Lordship did acquaint them with an information that Sir *Tho. Stanley* and *Holcroft* had bin very busie that morning among divers armed souldiers, wherefore his Lordship did aske them if they would not like that his Lordship might come into the towne with his ordinary attendance, of which they seem'd most desirous, and prepared a banquet for those his Lordships servants, as they are ready to averre.

Next morning the chiefe of the townsmen repaired to his Lordship, but lodged but a mile off, at Sir *Alex. Radcliffes*, with a protestation of great griefe at this accident, and all of them under their hand did give his Lordship a declaration that Sir *Tho. Stanley*, *Holcroft*, and *Birch*, were the disturbers of their peace, and the only occasion of this treachery, so as my Lord and the towne are on very fair termes, and the other three by these meanes, God be thanked, discovered themselves to the world, so as no just wise religious person will hereafter give them any countenance.

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Wee whose names are subscribed, doe conceive and are credibly informed that Sir *Thomas Stanley* Baronet, *John Holcroft* Esquire, *Thomas Birch* Gent, are disturbers of the Peace of our Towne of *Manchester*, and especially for their actions upon the 15 day of *July*, 1642.

William Radley
Richard Johnson
Robert Simmonds
Ralphe Brideoake

Francis Moseley
John Hartley

Nicholas Moseley, Burrower
Michael Dicconson
John Bowker, Constables

John Radley
Nicholas Moseley

John Mader
John Gaskell
John Lomar
Richard Hollywell
Nicholas Hawett
Michael Buxton
Richard Lomar
Roger Rogerson
Lawrence Owin
James Lightbound
James Marler
Alexander Greene
Edmund Prestwich
Robert Potter

Vera Copia, test.
Andrew Browne,
Thomas Morris.

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## XIII.

*An Impeachment of High Treason, exhibited in Parliament against James Lord Strange, Son and Heir Apparent of William Earle of Derby, by the Commons assembled in Parliament, in the names of themselves and all the Commons of England. With an Order of the Lords and Commons in Parliament for the apprehension of the said Lord, to be published in all Churches, Chappels, Markets, and Townes in the County of Lancaster and Chester.*

16 *Sep.* 1642.—*Ordered by the Lords in Parliament assembled, that this Impeachment, with the Order, shall be forthwith printed and published.* John Browne, *Cler. Parliamenti.*

Sep. 17.—*London,* Printed for *John Wright,* 1642.

The Impeachment of James Lord *Strange,* and Son and Heire Apparent of William Earle of *Darby,* by the Commons assembled in *Parliament,* in the Name of themselves and all the *Commons* of England of High Treason.

That the said James Lord *Strange,* to the intent and purpose to subvert the fundamentall Lawes and Government of this Kingdome of *England*, and the Rights and Liberties, and very being of Parliaments; And to set Sedition between the King and his People, did upon the fifteenth day of *July* in this present year of our Lord God, One thousand six hundred forty two, at *Manchester*, in the County of *Lancaster*, and at several other times and places, actually, maliciously, rebelliously, and traiterously, summon and call together great numbers of his Majesties Subjects; And incite, perswade, and encourage them to take up Armes, and levy warre against the King, Parliament, and Kingdome; That the said James Lord *Strange*, in further prosecution of his foresaid wicked, traiterous, and malicious purposes, Did upon the said fifteenth day of *July*, at *Manchester* aforesaid, and at severall other Times and Places, actually, maliteously, rebelliously, and traiterously, raise great Forces of Men and Horse; And levyed Warre against the King, Parliament, and Kingdome; And in further prosecution of the aforesaid wicked, traiterous, and malicious purposes, the said James L. *Strange*, and divers other Persons, whom he had drawne into his Party and Faction, Did also upon the said fifteenth day of *July*, at *Manchester* aforesaid, Maliciously and Traiterously, with Force and Armes, and in a hostile and warlike manner, kill, murther, and destroye *Richard Parcivall* of *Kirkman-Shalme* in the said County of *Lancaster*, *Lynen Webster*; And did then, and there, and at divers other times and places, in like hostile manner as aforesaid, shoot, stab, hurt, and wound divers others of his Majesties good Subjects, contrary to the Lawes and Peace of this Kingdome of England, and contrary to His Majesties Royal Crowne and Dignity; And the said James, Lord *Strange*, hath set Sedition between the King and His People, and now is in open and actuall Rebellion against the King, Parl$^{nt}$, and Kingdome: For which matters and things, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the House of *Commons* in Parliament assembled, Doe in the name of themselves, and of all the Commons of England, impeach the said James, Lord *Strange*, of High Treason; And the said *Commons* by Protestation, saving to themselves the Liberty of

Exhibiting at any time hereafter any other Accusation or Impeachment against the said Lord *Strange,* and also to replying of the Answers that the said JAMES, L. *Strange,* shall make to the Premisses or any of them, or of any other Impeachment or Accusation that shall be exhibited by them, as the Cause, according to the Course and Proceedings of Parliament shall require, Doe pray that the said JAMES, Lord *Strange,* may be put to answer all and every the Premisses, that such Proceedings, Examination, Tryalls, and Judgments, may be upon them, and every one of them had, and used, as shall be agreeable to Law and Justice.

Veneris, 16th *September,* 1642.

Whereas the Lord *Strange* having continued a long time, and still remaining in actuall Rebellion against his Majesty and the Parl$^{nt}$ is for the same impeached of High Treason by the House of Commons, in the name of themselves and all the Commons of *England.* It is therefore ordered by the *Lords* and *Commons* in Parliament assembled, That publication thereof be made in all Churches and Chappels, by the Curates and Church-Wardens thereof, and in all Markets and Townes, by the Constables and Officers of the Townes within the Counties of *Lancaster* and *Chester,* to the end that all his Majesties Loving Subjects may have notice thereof, least they being deceived by the specious pretences made by the said Lord *Strange,* should assist him with men, money, munition, or any other provision, and so make themselves guilty of the like Treason and Rebellion; And all Sheriffs, and other his Majesties Subjects, are hereby required to doe their best endeavour for the apprehension of the said Lord, and the bringing him up to the Parliament, there to receive condigne punishment according to his demerits.

## XIV.

*To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty, The Humble Petition of divers Recusants and others in the County of Lancaster, that they may be received into his Majesties Protection, and have their Armes redelivered to them for the defence of his Majesties Person and their Families.*

*Together with his Majesties Commission to Sir William Gerard Baronet, Sir Cecill Trafford Knight, and other his Majesties Subjects, Recusants in the same County, charging and commanding them to provide with all possible speed sufficient Armes for the defence of his Majesties Person, or them against all force raised by any colour of any order or ordinance whatsoever without his Majesties consent.*[1]

*Ordered by the Commons in Parliament that this Petition and Answer bee forthwith prynted and published.* H. Elsynge, *Cler. Parl. D. Com.*

London. Printed for *Edw. Husbands* and *John Frank*, and are to be sold at their Shops, in the Middle Temple, and next doore to the Kings Head in Fleet Streete. 1642.

*To the Kings most excellent Majesty.*

The Humble Petition of us, the inhabitants of LANCASHIRE whose names are here underwritten in the behalfe of ourselves and divers others being Recusants,

Humbly Sheweth,

That whereas we and the rest of the said County, your Majesties most loyall Subjects are disarmed, and not sufficiently provided for the defence of your Royall person and our own families; Our most humble supplication to your Majestie is, that we may be received into your most gracious protection from violence, have our Armes taken from us redelivered in this time of actuall war, and by your

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[1] This petition of the Lancashire Recusants, and the royal assent thereto, was immediately met by the order (of Sept. 29) for sending down Sir John Seaton, and also by a declaration of Parliament (Nov. 23) for putting down associations of Papists in Lancashire, Cheshire, and the five northern counties. (Husbands 4to. 754.) It is noticed and commented on in the *Perfect Diurnal*, No. 13, 14-21 Nov. 1642.

Majesties speciall directions be enabled further to furnish ourselves with competencie of weapons for the security of your royall Person (if we be thereunto required) our Countries and families, who now are not onely in danger of the common disturbance; But also menaced by unruly people to be robbed; and when by the Almightyes assistance your Maiesties Kingdom shall be setled, in case we be againe disarmed, that a full value in mony, in liew thereof to us may be restored. And we shall dayly pray, &c. W. G. C. Tr. C. T. Chr. An. Jo. C.

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To our Trusty and Well-beloved Sir *William Gerard* Baronet, Sir *Cecill Trafford* Knight, *Thomas Clifton*, *Charles Towneley*, *Christopher Anderton*, and *John Cansfield*, Esquires, and other of our Subjects Recusants in the County of *Lancaster*.

Charles Rex.

Trusty and Wellbeloved,

Wee greet you well, whereas by reason of the Lawes and Statutes of our Realme, by which all recusants convicted are to be without armes, your armes have beene taken from you, so that now in this time of imminent danger, wherein there are armies raised against our commands and contrary to our Proclamations, and are marching against Us; and divers of our good subjects for obeying our lawful commands, and opposing the rebellious proceedings of others ill-affected, are by strong hand seized upon and imprisoned, their houses plundered, and their goods taken away, and the like is threatened to your selves, who as all others our subjects ought to have our Protection against all unlawfull violence and force. And the lawes made for the disarming Recusants, were made onely for a provision to prevent danger in time of peace, and were not intended to barre you from a necessary use of armes in time of actuall warre, for your owne safety or the defence of our owne Person against all rebels and enemies, which by your duty and allegeance you are bound unto; which is not, nor ever was meant to be discharged, or taken away by any act; and whereas the armes which were taken from you ought by law to have beene kept and preserved, to have beene made use of by you in such time of open warre, or of such others as you should provide; yet under the specious pretence of disarming Recusants, and Persons ill affected, your armes have been disposed and dispersed into the hands of severall persons ill affected, and for the most part fomenters and exciters of these commotions now raised in this Kingdome. Our Will and Command therefore is, and we charge and require you upon your allegiance, and as you tender the safety of our Person, and the peace and welfare of our Kingdome, that you with all possible speed provide sufficient Armes for your selves, your Servants and your Tenants, which we Authorize and require during the time of open warre raised against Us, to keepe and use for the defence of Us, and of your selves, and of your country, against all forces and armes raised or to be raised against Us, or Our consent, or contrary to Our Proclamation, by colour of any order or ordinance, or authoritie whatsoever. And wee shall (according as wee are bound to all our subjects) use our utmost powers for the protection of you, and yours, against all injuries and violence; and whensoever these armes which you shall so provide (after it shall please God to put an end to these dangers and distractions) shall bee taken away from your custody by reason of Our lawes now in force, We doe hereby assure you we will allow you for the same, so much as you shall have dispended in provision thereof. Given under our Signet at our Court at *Chester* the 27 of September, in the eighteenth yeare of our reigne.

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## XV.

*Parliamentary Commission for raising money for defence of Lancashire, and sending down Colonel Sir John Seaton; from a Broadside in the British Museum, reprinted imperfectly in Rushworth's Collection.* (Part III. vol. ii. p. 25.)

Die September 29, 1642.

The Lords and Commons in Parliament do conceive and find it so necessary that 1000 Dragoones, with some Troopes of Horse, should be raised speedily, and be set forth for the suppressing of the Malignant Party in *Lancashire*, and such other parts, as my Lord Generall shal appoint, for protecting the well affected people and preventing of forraigne Power from landing, that it will not onely be taken and recented by the House for an acceptable Service in a time of great need, if any the well affected and disposed persons of the City of *London* shall advance the summe of sixteene thousand pounds for setting forth of such a Power. But do declare that such Advances shall have the publique faith for the repayment of such moneyes so to be advanced with Interest after eight pounds *per cent.* As also shall be taken into consideration by the House for a further recompence of their so forward and pious Act in a time of so great necessity and danger.

It is ordered by the House that Sir *John Wolleston*, *John Rowse*, *John Warner*, and *Tho. Andrewes*, Aldermen of the City of *London*, are appointed Treasurers for the foresaid Subscription Moneyes.

All persons who are willing to goe Soldiers in the Service under Colonell Sir *John Seton* as Dragoniers, are to resort to Captaine *Henry Legh* at the signe of the *Sun* neare Criplegate, and Captaine *William Stackhouse* at his house in Saint Thomas Apostles, and there are to be listed for that service.

Ordered by the *House* of *Commons* that this be forthwith printed and published.

HEN. E-SINGE, Cleric. Payliament. D. Com.

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Imprinted at *London* by *L. N.* for *E. Husbands* and *T. Frank*, and are to be sold at their Shops in the Middle Temple, and next dore to the Kings Head in Fleetstreete. MDCXLII.

# Chapter III.

THE SIEGE OF MANCHESTER BY THE KING'S TROOPS COMMANDED BY LORD STRANGE, WITH PROCEEDINGS CONSEQUENT THEREON—FIRST CONFLICTS OF THE ROYALISTS AND PARLIAMENTARIANS, AND APPOINTMENTS MADE AT PRESTON BY LORD DERBY (AFTER ACCESSION TO THAT TITLE) AS "LORD GENERALL OF LANCASHIRE."

SEPTEMBER—DECEMBER, MDCXLII.

## XVI.

### THE SIEGE OF MANCHESTER.

In entering on the details of the Siege of Manchester, it is first necessary to refer the reader who is not acquainted with the localities to a map of Manchester. Almost any map may suffice, but he will be most assisted by that of 1650, given by Aikin in his *History of Manchester and its Vicinity*, and copied in Palmer's *Siege* and Hollinworth's *Mancuniensis*. By this he will be enabled to trace the coincidence of the position of the works in the Siege with the points selected in former days for the defence of the original Mancunium by its Roman conquerors.

These early defences lay within, but at the two extremities of, an irregular parallelogram on the left bank of the Irwell, which may be described as being bounded by that river and the Irk on the N.W., by the Medlock on the S., and partly by the marshes formed by a small stream called the Tib (now arched over) on the E. Within this space lie the two camps described by Whitaker.

The greater Roman Camp, on the site of Castlefield, near the N. W. angle of this parallelogram, had protection from the Irwell, the Medlock, and the Marsh, on three sides; and the area, thus naturally defended, became once more the scene of warfare, as the Royalist Position within the Park of Alport (purchased from an Earl of Derby by the Mosleys) in which the *Lodge* was situated where Lord Strange had his *Manchester Battery*, raking the centre of the present Deansgate.

His *Salford Battery* was placed at the lower end of the Old Bridge, and was commanded on the Manchester side by elevated ground, which Whitaker supposes to have been the summer Camp of the Romans, but which (if such) probably succeeded to an earlier British work. This opinion is founded on its form, accommodated on two sides to the steep and rocky banks of the Irk and the Irwell; and on the other, or land side, defended by semicircular entrenchments, which Mr. Whitaker states to have been traced by excavations, and which are still followed in their curved outlines by the streets near the Collegiate Church, as a glance at the map will testify.

The space enclosed by these streets and the rivers last mentioned contained the Collegiate Church and its cemetery, and the site of the present Chetham's Hospital, which long after the period referred to had retained its military character as the "Baron's Yard," and after being the College of the local Ecclesiastics, had passed after the dissolution to the Stanleys, who had suffered the Magazine already mentioned to be deposited in it.

If the posts and chains of Rosworm, mentioned in the following tracts, had been forced, it is not improbable that this site would have been stoutly defended; at all events, the walls of the adjacent churchyard gave his marksmen a decided advantage over the Royalists at the Salford Battery below.

In the selection of these sites, however, Lord Strange was probably chiefly influenced by the sentiments of the inhabitants and proprietors in their neighbourhood; Salford and Alport Lodge received him kindly, and the families of Moseley, Prestwich, Trafford, Tyldesley, Barlow, Tatton, and Radcliffe, all Royalists, kept open the communication between him and his own resources in Wigan, Warrington, and Lathom. In case of any other selection, as appears by the names of the families who led their tenants to the defence of Manchester, the rear of his little army would have been open to annoyance from the Parliamentarian families who swept in an almost unbroken semicircle on the left bank of the Irwell from Dunham Massey, by Handford, Stockport, Harden, Dukenfield, Ashton, Hyde, and Middleton to Heaton. The sudden raising of the siege and retreat of the Royalists appears to have been the result of the King's command to join his main army, then preparing to march southward, and although, from what Rosworm says of the want of ammunition, the consequences of an assault might have been much dreaded by the townsmen, who could have opposed little besides the pike and the club, this does not appear to have been known to Lord Derby; and it is clear that he could place but small confidence either in the discipline or the fidelity of his followers.[1]

## XVII.

*Newes from Manchester, Being A True Relation of the Battell fought before Manchester. Wherein the Lord Strange lost* 150 *Men, besides* 100 *taken Prisoners, with the losse only of* 12 *Men of the Town side, whereof six of them were taken Prisoners.*
*Sent in a Letter to a private Friend.*
London, Printed for *Richard Best*, 1642.[2]

*Saturday,* the 24th of *September* last in the night, came a great company of horse and foot to the number of two or three thousand, against the Towne of *Manchester*. *Sunday* morning my Lord *Strange*, now Earle of *Darby*, for his father died this week at *Chester*, my Lord *Mollineux*, Sir *John Girlington*, high Sheriff of the County of *Lancaster*, Sir *George Gerard*, Colonell of the Horse, with diverse other Captains and Gentlemen of the County, with some six or seven canons, came likewise neere unto the Towne. But the Townsmen having some notice on the Saturday Evening of their approach, did send to the Inhabitants thereabouts, who on Sunday and *Monday* came in abundantly with Muskets, Pikes, Halberts, Staves, and such like, to the number of two thousand. And these Gentlemen likewise came in aid of the Towne, Master *Holland*, Master *Egerton*, Master *Duckinfield*, Master *Arden*, Master *Butterworth*, Master *Booth*, Sir *George's* second Sonne, Master *Hide* and some others. And upon *Sunday* forenoone we were called out of Church from Sermon, and since then there have been many hot skirmishes both in the Night and Day, especially *Monday* in

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[1] The plan pursued in arranging the documents illustrative of this subject, and of its immediate local consequences, is to give in chronological order the tracts appearing worthy of preservation, together with other contemporary notices. Additional details will be found in this collection, in the *Valley of Achor*, and in *Rosworm's Complaint.*

Many of the previous efforts of Lord Strange, in attempting to secure the magazines, &c. have been given in the preceding tracts. The reader must be referred to Seacome's *House of Stanley*, Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, Dugdale's *Baronage* (ii. 251) and other sources, for his alleged musters on the Lancashire Heaths, his offers respecting the raising of the Standard at Warrington, his removal by the King from his lieutenancies of Cheshire and Wales, and the command of the three regiments which he had actually raised and taken to the King at Shrewsbury, from whence he was sent back to Lancashire on the service now under illustration.

[2] To keep up continuation of events, it is proper to state here that the Royal Standard was set up at Nottingham, August 25 (Clarendon, iii. 190), and that on September 9

the Earl of Essex, Parliamentary Commander-in-Chief, "in much state did set out of London, and went to his head quarters at St. Albans, and from thence to Northampton, where his forces met him."—*Rushworth*, pt. iii. vol. ii. p. 16.

*Perfect Diurnall of the Passages in Parliament*, *Sep.* 12, 1642. (Cook and Wood, No. 13.)—"*Thursday* (*Sep.*) 8. This day came letters out of Lancashire, certifying that the malignant party in that county have gathered some forces, and carried them to the King at Nottingham, and that some of the town of Manchester are disaffected to the Parliament, but the greatest part of the said town are for the King and Parliament."

On September 15, the King determined, when at Derby, to accept the invitation of Shrewsbury, and march thither; and was at Stafford on Sept. 18 (Blakeway, i. 418), and on that day notified to the mayor of Chester his intention of proceeding there, arriving there from Shrewsbury on Sep. 23 (*Hist. Chesh.* i. 203.)

*Sep.* 19, *Perfect Diurnall, &c.* (Francis Coules, No. 14) p. 2.—"*Monday*, 12. And it was also then informed the Commons, by letters, that the Lord Strange doth march in Lancashire and Cheshire with an army of above 2000 foot, 300 horse, and six pieces of ordnance, the greatest part of which force are Welchemen, and that he hath put a garrison of 300 men into Chester, against the Kings coming thither."

This visit terminated on the 28th, when the King, having directed the city to be put into a state of defence, returned to Shrewsbury, where he continued until October 12, the events immediately following and connected with the siege of Manchester taking place during his residence there.

the afternoone and in the night, their Ordinance killed none, but onely a strange boy was gazing about him, but not in armes.

There have not been slain of the Townside above five or six and as many taken prisoners; there are slain on the other side about an hundred and fifty, whereof some speciall Commanders, Master *Standish* of *Duxbury* is slaine, Captaine *Biron*, Captaine *Tilesley*, and many others of good quality and about an hundred taken Prisoners; The Souldier hath ransakt and pillag'd and done abundance of hurt in the country thereabouts. The Townsmen fetch them in and bring in Horse and man in great companies, foure or five bring in two or three a-piece.

Upon Monday night they burnt a great Barne with much Corne and Hay of M. *Greenes*, and some Houses of Master *Foxes* at the Deanes Gate end. The Towne is daily expectant of ayde from the Parliament and the Army. We have been full of feares, often called out of Bed in the night and in great distresse, but Gods great goodness hath greatly preserved us beyond all expectation, If I would but relate unto you all the passages it woud fill you with admiration, to see how gratious God hath beene to us, but the town is the better for some fortifications made by a *German* by Chains and Mudwalls at the Townes ends, and I hope much the better for good prayers. The matter is the more unkindly taken, because the Lord *Strange* hath brought some that were sent from the Towne upon his warrant to meete the king at *Warrington*, against the Towne, and the Souldiers say they had no knowledge of coming against *Manchester*, But were told they were to go for some other purpose that way, They say Captain *Leigh* of *Adlington* is at *Storkport*, with Forces against the Towne, but they say they will not go out of the County, Captain *Robert Bradshaw*, Captain *Radclife*, Captain *Channell*, and Captain *Barrington* hath done very great service. *This is the substance* of what I know, I have been in Town all the time. The Lord grant us peace, Pray for us and the peace of this kingdome.

Since I writ this Letter I have sent you a Catalogue of those that were slaine before *Manchester* by them in the town.

1. Lord *Mollineux* the Earle of *Derbie's* Son in Law.[1]
2. Colonell *Tyllsley.*
3. *Standish* Eldest Son of his father of *Duxbury.*
4. Captaine *Byron.*
5. Captaine *Ashton* of *Penket.* Eldest Son of his Father.

Two other Captains.
And 200 Common Souldiers.

The old Earle dying the 25 of the same moneth, this Earle his Sonne instead of mourning, took this good worke in hand, to destroy his owne Country Neighbours.[2]

## XVIII.

*The Lord Strange, His demands propounded to the Inhabitants of the Town of Manchester, concerning a pacification and laying down of Armes: with the valiant Answer and Resolution of the Commanders and Souldiers, in denying and withstanding the said Demands. Also the names of the Scots Elders and Ministers chosen by the Commissioners of Scotland to be sent to the Assembly of Divines appointed by the Parliament to be holden at London*

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[1] This alliance of Lord Molineux has not occurred elsewhere. He married Frances, daughter of William, Marquis of Hertford (afterwards restored as Duke of Somerset) by his second wife, Frances, sister of the Parliament general the Earl of Essex. The first wife of this great Marquis was the Lady Arabella Stuart, first cousin of James I.

[2] This account of the slain is inaccurate in what relates to the deaths of Lord Molineux, Colonel Tyldesley, and Captain Ashton. Colonel Tyldesley (who is first mentioned here as colonel) in all likelihood received that commission in one of the regiments of horse raised by Lord Derby, and most probably in that commanded by Lord Molineux, with whom he is frequently associated in later operations. The monument erected to his memory in Wigan-lane, by his "grateful cornet Alexander Rigby," mentions his holding the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the royal service at Edgehill, and his previous exertions in "raising regiments of horse, foot, and dragoons."

*for the setling of Religion.* London: printed for *Th. Cook*, October 8, 1642. 4to. pp. 6.

The late Lord *Strange*, now Earle of *Darby*, having strongly besieged the towne of *Manchester*, in the County Palatine of *Lancaster*, and lien before it with his forces, to the number of two thousand Foot and six hundred horse, with eight or nine Peeces of Ordnance, from the four-and-twentieth of *September* to this present, since which time many shot have been discharged on both sides. The late Lord *Strange* planted his Ordnance in two severall places, and plaid very fiercely upon the Towne and so hath continued night and day ever since, but hath done very little or no harme: his Musketiers have made many furious assaults against the town, and were as bravely withstood by those of the towne, who most couragiously defended their works, and made good their quarters against the enemy, beating them off and killing above an hundred of them (among which were some commanders of note), without the losse of one man.

His Lordship seeing that by force he could not prevaile against the towne, hee sent a messenger to desire a parley with the inhabitants of the towne, but they would not condescend unto it, till after foure or five messages from his Lordship, and then they agreed that there should be a cessation of Armes on both sides from tuesday in the afternoon, till seven of the clock the next day; in the mean while, the L. *Strange* propounded these demands following:—

1. That they would lay down their armes, and deliver them up to his Lordship.

2. That he might march through the town with his army, which were both denied.

3. That they would deliver him a thousand pound in money.

4. Then he demanded, but two hundred Muskets.

5. Seeing none of these would bee granted, rather than be frustrate in all his demands, in his last message he desired but fifty muskets, and he would raise his siege and leave the town.

After some debate and serious consultation concerning these demands between the Commissioners and common souldiers, a peremptory and resolute answer was returned his Lordship by the unanimous consent of them all, that he should not so much as have a sword.

The towne hath now held out a complete fortnight, and still continues, with an undaunted resolution to stand it out against him. Many of his souldiers run away and confess they have neither meat nor money, but what they get by robbing. Captain *Bradshaw* hath behaved himself most valiantly to his everlasting renown. The enemy have discharged their ordnance above three hundred times and the musketeers have done what they could, and yet we have not lost one person in the fight, but a boy, unarmed, standing upon a stile, but the townsmen have killed above a hundred, and taken eighty prisoners of the enemies.

⁂ The rest of the Tract relates to the other matter mentioned in the Title.

## XIX.

*A true and faithfull Relation of the besieging of the Towne of Manchester in Lancashire, upon Saturday, the* 24 *of September. Together with the manner of the severall Skirmishes and Passages betwixt the Earle of Derby the besieger with his* 4500 *men, and the souldiers in the Town, being only* 1000 *or thereabout. Also a declaration of the Lords and Commons in Parliament to the Inhabitants of the said Towne. And lastly, the manner of the raising of the said Siege, having continued until Saturday the* 1 *of October, as it was credibly represented unto the House of Commons from a godly Minister in the said Towne, and appointed to be printed and published.*[1]

The Towne of *Manchester* having some malignants in it, and multitudes of Papistes neere unto it, and being reputed a religious and rich towne, hath been much envied and often threatned by the Popish and Malignant partie, and therefore the Townes-men being incouraged first by some Justices of the Peace, afterwards by the Ordinance for the Militia, did in a peaceable manner exercise and traine up their youth in feates of armes, whereby sundry of them became skillfull musquetiers and active pikemen, and afterwards when the Lord *Strange* began to declare his opposition to the Lords and Commons in Parliament by raising of forces, and uttering divers menaces and threats against us and others that refuse to joyne with him, (which were farre the greater part of all *Salford* hundred) Mr. *Holland* of Denton, Master *Egerton* of Shagh, Mr. *Eride* of Denton, Deputie Lievetenants by the Ordinance of Parliament, did advise and consult with the Towne what was fittest to be done for the safetie of the Towne and Countrey adjacent, the result of which consultation was to provide for their own safety by securing the Towne, to encourage and assist them in which service, God by his providence had a quarter of a yeere before sent a German engineer amongst them, to whose skill, industry, faithfulnesse and valour, we owe (under God) much of our late preservation. He was often solicited by letters, messengers, and promises of great preferment and rewards, to serve the Lord *Strange*, but being unwilling to serve against the Parliament, he accepted

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[1] This relation of the siege of Manchester has appeared, in a more abridged form, in

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several works, and among others in Vicars' *Parliamentary Chronicle* (*God in the Mount*, pp. 173-179), from what is described as "a most authentick copie, written by a godly ministre, then an inhabitant of the said town, and an eye witnesse of, if not all, yet most of the particular acts and contingents in the same."

This may relate either to Warden Heyrick, or Mr. Bourne, fellow of the Collegiate Church, or perhaps to others; but if to either of the two mentioned, most probably to Heyrick.

Other details of the siege will be found in the authorities referred to in page 44. It may be desirable to add, that this Tract varies from the other versions and abridgments in the important point of containing the names of the Royalists who attended Lord Strange, and of those who, on the other hand, mustered in aid of the townsmen. *All these are identified in the notices of individuals appended at the end of the work*, but it is proper to note the errors of *Laughton*, *Eride*, *Lyde*, *Lide*, *Merthen*, and possibly *Chantwell*, for *Houghton*, *Hide*, *Hyde*, *Hide*, *Werden*, and *Chantrell*; and to add, that the *Thanks of Parliament* (appended to the Tract), are given (in p. 57), from an official document.

of farre lesse encouragement from us, and he gave directions for the chaining up and fortifying the severall ends of the Towne, which was begun with diligence, but found opposition from divers of the Malignant party, which threatned to hinder the setting downe of the stoopes. But God by his providence so disposed, that on Thursday, the 13 of *September*, the Souldiers in Cheshire, under the command of Sir *Edward Fitton* and Master *Leigh* of Adlington, did plunder, pillage, and disarme his Majesties loyall, Protestant subjects, even of such armes as they had provided for the necessary defence of their owne houses, which so awakened and affrighted the countrey, that many hundred men were suddenly up in armes in the Town of *Manchester*, which gave opportunity and facility for the setting downe of the stoopes, and the perfecting of the fortifications, which were not finisht till about a day before his Lordship came against the Towne. Though we had no certain notice of the time of his comming, on Saturday night certaine intelligence came to the Towne, that great forces were comming from Warington against it, conducted by the Lord *Strange*, and (as we hear) by the Lord *Molineux*, Master Sheriffe, Sir *Gilbert Laughton*, Sir *Alexander Radcliffe*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Master *Tildisley*, Master *Standish* of Standish, Master *Prestwich*, Master *Windebanke*, Serjeant Major *Danvars*, Serjeant Major *Sanders*, Master *Downes* of Wardley, Master *Townly* of Townley, Master *Ashton* of Penkett, junior, Master *Ogle*, Master *Byrom* of Birom, Master *Nowell* of Read, Master *Standish* of Duxburie his eldest sonne, Master *Chernock*, Master *Farrington* of Merthen, Master *Holt* of Ashurst, Master *Rosterne* of Newhall junior, Mr. *Tarbuck* of Tarbuck, Mr. *Mountague*, with many others, which assisted with men and munition; about which time there were in towne about an hundred and fiftie of the tenants of Master *Ashton* of Middleton in compleat armes, under the command of Captaine *Bradshaw*, who with the towne forces under the command of Captaine *Radcliffe* did cheerefully and couragiously, upon the beating of the drumme, repaire to the end of the Towne, resolving to maintaine the libertie of their persons, and the propriety of their goods, with the utmost hazard of their lives. The bels were rung, and posts immediately sent into the countrey to give them notice, whereupon Master *Holland* of Denton, Captaine *Booth*, son to Sir *George Booth* of Dunham, Master *Duckenfield* of Duckenfield, Master *Arderne* of Hardin, Master *Egerton* of Shagh, Master *Butterworth* of Belfield, Master *Lide* of Denton, Master *Lyde* of Norbury, Master *Cheetham* of Nuthurst, and others, came with their tenants and well-affected neighbours, to assist the Towne; part of the Lord *Stranges* forces came though Cheshire, and part came on the other side of the river Irwell; the breaking of a wheele which carried their ordnance, retarded the Lord *Strange* his forces, that they came not in viewe of the Towne till about nine of the clock on Sunday morning, and at that time sundry companies and their colours appeared in open view. Then two gentlemen were sent to know the reason of his coming in such a manner; his Lordship staid one of the gentlemen for hostage, and sent Captaine *Windebanke* to require entrance, and that he might march with his armie into the Towne, which was unanimously denied him, this very day (as it is said) the Earle his father died. On Munday the twentie sixt of September he sent another message to the same purpose, promising to use the Towne kindly, otherwise fearfull ruines might ensue. But his requests were not granted, his threats were not feared: about twelve of the clock he began to play with his cannon shot upon the Deans gate and Salford Bridge; the bullets that were found weighed between foure and six pounds weight. This afternoon the fight was hot on both sides, most of our men constantly charging and discharging, to the great admiration and terrour of the enemies. The fight was first begun by the Lord *Strange* his forces, which were in and about an house of Sir *Edward Mosleys* called the Lodge, where they planted some of their ordnance; and at the same time was seconded by an assault they made upon Salford bridge, they having possessed themselves of the Towne of Salford, which adjoyneth to *Manchester*, save only the water betwixt, but did not joyne with them in a common defence. But God so ordered the matter, that the cannons plaid in vain, and therefore they assaid to enter the Towne, and to beat our men from their works, which being not able to doe, they sent some of their souldiers to fire two barnes and eight or ten dwelling houses about twelve roods from our Workes, which being effected, the enemies with great shouting ("the towne is our owne, the towne is our owne") renued their assault, but by the valour and courage of Captain *Bradshaw* and his Souldiers were beaten back, and many of them slaine. The wind at the first blew the flame and smoke into the faces of our Souldiers, to their great annoyance and the endangering of the Towne. But God that rides on the wings of the wind did very seasonably turn the wind till the rage of the fire was abated. Those forces that were in Salford endevoured to enter the bridge, where they found so hot entertainement at the hands of Captain *Roseworme*, the German Engineere before spoken of, and his Souldiers, that they were forced to retreat with the losse of some men; but having possessed themselves of an house at the foot of the Bridge, they continued shooting all night at our men. In this dayes fight, blessed be God, we lost not one man. On Teusday morning a souldier was taken being mortally wounded, which confessed that he was one of the seven which set the barne on fire; he lived but a day after his apprehension. This day there was an assault made at other ends of the towne, especially at the Market-street-lane end, but were valiantly resisted by Captain *Radcliffe* and his company. Our men likewise sallied out, took divers prisoners, slew and put to flight divers that were stragling in the fields. About five of the clock his Lordship sounded for a parley, and sent a message in writing, which was as followeth: "In obedience to his Majesties commands, I have drawne some forces hither, with no intention of prejudice to your Town or any person in it, but to require your ready obedience to his Majestie in yielding your selves dutifully and chearfully into his protection; which I once more (so great is the value I sett upon the effusion of one drop of my countryes bloud) sommon you to, under this assurance that no mans person or goods shall be harmed, so as you give up your armes to be disposed of by me, according to his Majesties commands. But if you shall yet continue obstinate in your disobedience, and resolve to stand it out, I will in that way proceed with all honour, by offering you a safe convoy of your women and children out of the Towne, so as it be done immediately.—*I. Derby.*" The gentlemen desired ten of the clock next day to give in their answer; he granted till seven. They promised mutually that all acts of hostility should cease during that time, which was carefully performed on our side, and by meanes thereof our Souldiers being much wearied with watching three dayes and three nights before, got comfortable refreshing. But that very same night the Enemie was very busie plundring and pillaging many houses about the Towne, to their great prejudice, if not utter undoing, and slew two of our neighbours of *Boulton,* which were coming peaceably with about 150 more to assist the Towne, and planted two ordnances in *Salford,* from which they were beate the next day by muskets shot from the church-yard. On Wednesday morning the Gentlemen returned this answer: "May it please your honour to receive this answer to your Propositions: We are not conscious to our selves of any act committed by us, that we should in the least kind divest us his Majesties loyall subjects of his royall protection, nor of any disobedience to his Majesties lawfull commands, for we can no way perswade our selves that his Majestie, that hath so often solemnly declared to rule his people by his lawes, and to preserve the propriety of our estates, should require us to give away our armes, which are under God one meanes of our lawfull defence against malignant Enemies and multitudes of bloudy Papists, which do abound in our County, and had not God by his infinite mercy prevented, had ere this day made the like Rebellion in our County, and committed the like barbarous outrage against us and others of the true Protestant Religion, as their brethren have done in *Ireland,* seeing they are acted by the like hellish principles as they. And we cannot but much wonder that your Honour should come against us in such an open hostile manner, to take away our armes, which is absolutely against all law, and the right of the subject, which we are bound and resolved faithfully to maintaine, according to our late solemne protestation. And we can by no meanes be assured by your Lordship of the safety of our persons and goods, if we deliver up our armes, seeing since the treaty some of our neighbours houses being Protestants have been plundered or attempted to be plundered, and some of our friends coming in a peaceable way to our reliefe, have been cruelly murdered and slain by some of your Souldiers." Some few houres after, the Lord *Strange* sent Sir *John Mounson* to mediate, who said his Honour would be content with part of the armes; the Gentlemen referred it to the Souldiers, who all resolutely answered they would not give him a yard of match, but would maintaine their cause and armes to the last drop of bloud. After this Message was returned, his Ordnance played upon the Towne againe, but did no harme, save onely that they killed one which stood gazing on the top of a stile. Thursday, Captaine *Standish* was slaine by a bullet in *Salford*, who (as we heare) was reproaching his Souldiers because they would not fall on. Vpon his death his Souldiers fled, and other Souldiers by scores, yea by hundreds, daily fled away from the Lord *Strange*. There were slaine of his side, as we heare, 100 or 200, and some commanders of note, three whereof were buried at *Didsbury*, upon Thursday. We lost but foure men, two by accident, two by the Enemie. Friday little was done, onely the Lord continued playing upon the Towne with the Ordnance and Musket shot from *Salford* and the Lodge, and cast up a Trench before the end of the Deanes gate, as if he had intended to make long siege. The Ordnance did make holes in divers houses, and battered downe a piece of a chimney, but did little harme. This night his Cannons were removed. On Saturday he sent that prisoners might be exchanged for prisoners, and that plundering might cease on both sides. It was answered that our side had not plundered any house, but his Lordships forces had plundered so many that ten thousand pounds would not make a recompence. Prisoners were exchanged according to his Lordships motion. About noone on Saturday his Forces removed away from about the Towne. Our Souldiers from first to last had prayers and singing of Psalmes dayly at the street ends, most of our Souldiers being religious honest men, of a civill and inoffensive conversation, which came out of conscience of their oath and protestation. The Townesmen were kind and respective to the Souldiers; all things were common; the Gentlemen made bullets night and day; the Souldiers were resolute and couragious, and feared nothing so much as a Parly: the deputy Lievetenants, Captaine *Chantwell* and the other Gentlemen, tooke paines night and day to see that the Souldiers did their duty. The Lord *Stranges* Souldiers some of them wept, others protested great unwillingness to fight against Manchester, afferming they were deceived and deluded, or else they had not come thither. Thus the Lord hath preserved an unwalled Towne from being destroyed or detained by a great Armie, consisting as some say of 4000, some say 3000, seven pieces of Ordnance, two hundred Dragoneers, and hundred Horsemen. To God alone be the Prayse.

October 11.—Read and ordered to be printed.

## *Extracts from various Contemporary Authorities relative to the Proceedings consequent on the Siege of Manchester.*

*Perfect Diurnall*, Oct. 3 to 10. Cook and Wood, No. 17.

Monday, Oct. 3. "Monday, the House of Commons being met, letters were read that came out of Lancashire from Manchester, intimating that the Lord Strange with 200 [2000?] men did lately make an attempt to take the towne of Manchester; but the said towns men having gotten some small aid and assistance from other parts of the County, with great courage and resolution fell upon the Lord Strange and his forces, and killed at the least one hundred and twenty of them, and took eighty prisoners, with the losse of but five men on their side, whereupon the Lord Strange was forced to retreat eight miles from the said town that night, but it is feared he will make another attempt against the said town very shortly, and therefore the Parliament fell into debate of sending some speedy aid to that town; and in regard that the house was informed that his Majesty was about to draw his main forces to Shrewsburye to meet the Earl of Essex, they conceived it not fitting that any of those forces that were with his Excellency should be sent thither, but agreed that 1000 Dragoneers should be designed for the service under the command of Sir Edward *Ceton.*"

*The following Orders connected with the same matter are extracted from the Journals of the Commons:*

" Divers letters from Cheshire and Lancashire of the Siege of Manchester by the Lord Strange were this day read. And

" It is ordered, That these letters and the state of the business in Lancashire be referred to the Committee of the Safety of the Kingdom: And that Captain Ven do recommend this business of Lancashire to the Committee at London, to desire them to expedite their levies of dragoons.

" *Ordered*, That the Deputy Lieutenants of the County of Lancaster shall take care that the Prisoners taken at Manchester and thereabouts be either committed to prison, or sent up to the Parliament, as they shall think most convenient." (*The Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. ii. p. 792. A. 1642, 18 Car. I. Die Lunæ, 3 Octobris. Post Meridiem, 1642.)

## XX.

### THANKS OF PARLIAMENT TO MANCHESTER.[1]

*Jovis* 6 *October*, 1642.

*A Declaration of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, in Commendation of the Inhabitants of the town of Manchester, for their valiant resisting the late Lord Strange and now Earle of Derbie, and to encourage them in their valour which they have shewed for their own defence, and to endeavour to suppresse or apprehend the said Earl or any of his Complices, assuring them of*

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[1] The above order is printed from the official copy in the British Museum (*Public Acts*, &c. 1641-2), and differs from the copy which follows the original edition of the *History of the Siege of Manchester*, in *not* containing the parliament's order for a thanksgiving, for this success, in the Lancashire churches and chapels; but it is thought proper to adhere to the authorized document. The order for thanksgiving occurs in a subsequent document, of Oct. 11. See p. 60.

*allowance and payment for all disbursements, or losses in their service.*

JOHN BROWNE, *Clerk Parliament.*

Whereas upon credible information made unto this house that James late Lord Strange, and now Earle of Derby, heretofore impeached in the name of the house of Commons and of all the Commons of England, by the name of James Lord Strange, for High Treason, hath in pursuance of his traiterous actions procured divers papists, and other ill-affected persons in a hostile and rebellious manner, with gunnes and other warlick weapons, to make warre upon his Majestie's subjects in the Town of Manchester, in the County Palatine of Lancaster, and have killed and murthered divers in that town, and hath robb'd and spoild divers others of his Majestie's good subjects inhabiting near the same, the inhabitants whereof, with the Christian aid and help of divers well-affected gentlemen and others of that County, have valiantly resisted the said Earl and his Complices, and hath thereunto bravely defended themselves, and the town, it is thereupon ordered by the Lords and Commons assembled in parliament, that such Gentlemen and others of his Majestie's good subjects, who hath already hazarded their lives, and spent of their estates, and all such others as shall hereafter either with their persons or purses, give aid unto the inhabitants of the said town of Manchester for their defence, and shall endeavour to suppresse or apprehend the said Earl or any of his Complices, shall have allowance and payment made of all such moneys or any other charge, which they shall expend or disburse in that service upon account made unto the House of Commons, and such their actions and endeavours are declared to be a service both agreeable unto the law of the land, acceptable to both houses of Parliament, and beneficiall to the Commonwealth.

JOHN BROWN, *Cler. Parliament.*

London, printed for Tho. Underhill, at the Bible
in Wood Street.

*Extracts from Journals, &c. continued.*

*Speciall Passages*, No. 9. Oct. 4 to 11. Thursday.

"Now God be praysed we have a cleere passage to send letters and communicate with our friends. The Earle of *Derby* left this siege last Saturday, after he had lost neere two hundred of his men that were slaine, and half as many taken, with little or no losse of ours; which was not in us, or the strength of the horse or the rider, that hath given so good an issue to our expectation, but God, the God of our strength, hath done it for us, perfecting and blessing us in a good cause.

"It is said that hee went away because the King had earnestly sent for him to come with all his forces to make an addition to his Majesties Army, being to put something in execution when all his forces are together, yet heare the Earle continues to leavie new forces, which makes many in our towne to feare he meanes to come againe, but the more judiciall conceive it to make up slaine and taken, besides severall hundreds run away, that so hee may appeare with the more esteeme to the King. Let it be what it will, if for oure towne againe, we shall not feare nor faint, having the same God and cause. If he goes any where else, I pray God send him no better successe."

*Perfect Diurnall* (Coles, No. 18, Saturday, Oct. 15.)

A report that the King, then at Wolverhampton, against the wish of the cavaliers, "who laboured with him to come to London," intends to joyne the Earle of Derby against Manchester, and then to march into Yorkshire against Captain Hotham, and to assist the Earl of Cumberland.

*Perfect Diurnall* (C. & W.) No. 19, Monday, Oct. 17.

Letters came to the House respecting powder and match sent to Manchester by the Parliament, and intercepted by Sir Edward Moseley at Stafford. More ammunition procured from Cheshire, and the town resolved to defend itself. Lord Strange still in the county, but not recruited to the amount of the force which he had previous to the siege. Some successful sallies stated to have been made by the garrison into the neighbouring districts, and various prisoners taken, among whom is mentioned Mr. Tempest of Bowling.

*Perfect Diurnall*, Oct. 17, printed by Walt. Cooke and R. Wood, No. 18.

Tuesday, 11 Oct.—Letters were read to the House to the purport of the last letter, stating the force of the Earle of Derby at 2000, his killed at 200, and deserters at 250.

*Perfect Diurnall*, collected by the hand formerly employed by W. Cooke, Oct. 17.

Tuesday, Oct. 11.—Letters read in the House of Commons from Manchester, when it was declared that Gentlemen or others assisting the people of Manchester should have allowance from Parliament in disbursement; that there should be a day of public thanksgiving in the churches of Lancashire; and "that Dr. Math [Marsh?] taken prisoner before Manchester, should be sent for up to the Parliament."

*Englands Memorable Accidents*, London, 1642, 17-24 October, No. 49 (by Stephen Bowtell).

Thursday, Oct. 20.—Mention of the Ordinance of Oct. 3 having been carried into effect, and of the 1000 Dragoneers being then on their march to Manchester, under "Sir John Seton, a brave and valiant" Scottish commander. Some of these dragoneers are part of those men that came out of Holland in the ship that was forced by a leake to put into Yarmouth.

*Parliamentary rearrangement of the Lancashire Magistracy.*

"Upon information of some of the members of this House, of the great increase of poor within the town of Manchester and other several places in Lancashire, by reason of the unavoidable decay of trade occasioned by the unhappy distractions of these times; and that the justices of peace who were formerly of great use in those parts, have been lately, without any just cause appearing, displaced; It is this day *Ordered* by the * * * and Commons, now assembled in Parliament, that Edw. Lord Newburgh, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, shall forthwith issue our commissions of the peace to the several gentlemen herein named,—viz. Sir Ralph Ashton Baronet, Ralph Ashton of Middleton, Rich. Holland, John Bradshaw, Wm. Ratcliffe, Rich. Shuttleworth, John Braddell, John Starkey, Esquires; Sir Tho. Stanley Baronet. Jo. Holcroft, Tho. Standish, Geo. Doddinge, Tho. Fell, Peter Egerton, Esquires, whereby the County may receive benefit by their care, as formerly: And that he shall not discharge the said gentlemen from executing the said commissions, tending to the good of their country, till the House be acquainted therewith, and take further order in it. And it is further *Ordered*, that the said Edw. Lord Newburgh shall immediately discharge Sir Gilbert Houghton, knight and baronet, Robert Holt of Stubley, Alexander Rigby of Brough, John Greenhalgh, Edm. Asheton, Sir Alexander Radcliffe, Wm. Farrington, Orlando Bridgeman, Sir Edward Writhington, and Roger Kirkeby, Esquires, from being farther employed as Commissioners of the Peace within the said County; And he is also hereby required to render both Houses an account of his due performances of this Order." (*Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. ii. p. 821. A. 1642, 18 Car. I. Die Lunæ, 24 Octobris, 1642.

## XXI.

### PROPOSAL FOR PACIFICATION BETWEEN THE TOWN OF MANCHESTER AND THE EARL OF DERBY.

*Perfect Diurnall*, &c. No. 21 (Cook and Wood) Oct. 31, Nov. 7, 1642.

The Lord *Kilmurry*, the Lord *Brewerton*, and the rest of the array men of Lancashire, made certaine propositions to the Gentry and Freeholders in and about *Manchester*.

"1. That the Fortifications in and about *Manchester* should be no further perfected, nor wrought in during the treaty now in hand.

"2. That the Armies in and neere *Manchester* be laide down, the Earle of *Derby* securing the town of *Manchester*, and all gentlemen and others engaged in the business, that they shall be secure from all attempts against *Manchester*, or any of the Gentry, by the Earle of *Darby*, or any by his consent or procurement, the Town of *Manchester* and the Gentry heere, in like maner, securing the Counties of *Lancaster* and *Chester* from all hostile attempts by them, their consent or procurement.

"For the further declaring of a passage in the propositions, viz. of the Earl of *Derby* his securing of the town, our meaning is, not that he should take the saide town into his protection, but what they shall expect to be performed in a way of peace towards them, the same they are like to performe both and toward both Counties, not offending the Counties nor to be offended by them, and this is only their reall intention."

Whereunto the Gentry and Freeholders gave this answer:

"Wee, the Gentlemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants neere and in the Town of *Manchester*, do thankfully accept of the good affection of the said Lord Viscount *Kilmurry*, Lord *Bruerton*, and other Gentlemen, for their care to prevent any future peril to those parts. And do further declare that wee have not at all heretofore done anything to the just provocation of the Earle of *Derby* to draw out his late forcible coming against us, but that we conceive God, Nature, Law, and Conscience, bound us unto for our owne defence, neither since his removal have attempted or done that which might justly offende him or draw him to any designe against us. And therefore if the Lord *Kilmurry* please to propound, or the Earle of *Derby* approve the sending hither to *Manchester* any propositions sutable to his owne liking for the settling of the Peace of the County, they will send up a speciall messenger to the House of Parliament with them: and desire to receive from them a full answer which shall speedily be returned him: but they cannot neither disband their Garrison, nor forbeare the perfecting of theire fortifications, for several reasons, which are by them alleadged." [1]

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[1] This attempt at partial pacification was made in the spirit of a treaty also suggested by Lord Kilmurry, and shortly afterwards entered into for Cheshire, and executed at

### *Cannon ordered to Manchester and Middleton Hall.*

" Ordered, that Mr. Edmund Hockwood be one of Deputy Lieutenants for the County of Lancaster.

" Ordered, that Ralph Ashton Esquire shall have Mr. Speaker's warrant for the conveying down four small brass pieces to Manchester, without lett or interruption, and likewise one smalle brass piece for the safetie of his own house." (*Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. ii. p. 833. A. 1642, 18 Car. I. Die Jovis, 3 Novembris, 1642.

### *Committal of Sir Alex. Radcliffe to the Tower.*[1]

" Upon the Report from the Committee appointed to receive the examination of the business concerning Sir Alexander Ratcliffe,

" It is resolved upon the question, That Sir Alexander Ratcliffe is guilty of putting the Commission of Array in execution.

" Resolved upon the question, That Sir Alexander Ratcliffe is guilty of abetting, aiding and assisting, of the Earl of Derby in the action of the siege of Manchester.

" Resolved upon the question * * *

" Resolved upon the question, That Sir Alexander Ratcliffe be forthwith committed prisoner to the Tower, there to remain during the pleasure of the House.

" Resolved upon the question, That the three horses seized with Sir Alexander Ratcliffe be sent to the Commissaries in London, to be employed in the service of the Commonwealth." (*Journals of the House of Commons*, p. 841. A. 1642, 18 Car. I. Die Mercurii, 9 Novembris, 1642.)

### *Public Subscription in aid of Lancashire.*

Die Jovis, 24 Nov. 1642.

" Whereas the Lords and Commons are informed that the town of Manchester and some other parts within the County Palatine of Lancaster have for a long time been at excessive charges for the defence of such as are well affected, &c. &c. It is ordered, &c. that such moneyes or plate as Mr. Thomas Case or any other person shall underwrite for the defence of Lancashire and the reducing of the malignant party there, they shall have the publike faith to be repayed with satisfaction after eight pounds per cent."—*Husband's Collection*, p. 762.

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Bunbury, Dec. 30, 1642 (the articles of which are given in Rushworth, part 3, vol. ii. p. 101); but the same was shortly afterwards annulled by the houses of parliament, by a declaration (dated Sat. Jan. 7, 1642-3, printed in Husband's Collection, 4to, p. 823, and also as a separate tract), in which Parliament specifically objects to the treaty, (*inter alia*) that it " would prevent all associations and mutual relief to *Lancashire*, and other neighbor Counties."

[1] Sir Cecill Trafford, the neighbour of Sir A. Radcliffe, was made prisoner at Manchester, on Dec. 2. See Hibbert, vol. i. 216; and Tract XXII.

*The latest printed Newes from Chichester, Winsor, Winchester, Chester, Manchester, and Yorke, &c.* London, printed for T. Underhill at the Bible in Woodstreete, 1642. (Dec. 22.)

In the middle of the Pamphlet is

"Manchester, 17 Decemb. 1642.

"Captaine Bradshaw and Captaine Venables marched forth of Bolton with their companies, consisting of about 250 men, within two miles of Wigen, whence the cavaliers sallied forth five to one against them, and our men through oversight neglecting to send forth scouts were unawares incompassed, yet most valiantly kept them in play two dayes, and at last were overcome, and there were slain some, and the rest taken prisoners. We were sending much aid, but a post came thence, and informes that it is too late. What the Gentry intends is not knowne; I conceive the bells must ring, to call all the country, that so sufficient strength may be left here, and a considerable party sent against Wigen.

"The carriage of the cavaliers about Wigen was most insolent, ye blasphemous, for after they had pulled downe the pulpit in Hendon chappell, and plaid at cards in the pews and upon the deske, they surprised the Holy Bible, took it away, and afterwards tore it in pieces, and then stucke up the leaves of it upon the posts in severall places in Wigan, saying, This is the Roundheads Bible. Doubtlesse as certainely as the God that the Bible sets forth is the true God, and that Book his Word, so certaine it is that God will be avenged of such blasphemers and reproachers of his great name. And for us at Manchester, we resolve to take our lives in our hands, and with all our might seeke the recovery of our friends, and the ruine of those Gods enemies and ours."[1]

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## XXII.

*A true and full Relation of the troubles in Lancashire between the Lord Strange now Earle of Derby, and the well-affected people of that Countrie, with their valiant Resistance and full Resolution: Also certaine passages between the Earle of Newcastle and Captain Hotham in Yorkshire. Sent to a Rev. Divine in London.* London, Printed for Edward Blackmoore, December 9th, 1642. 8pp.

Kinde Sir,

I have received your letter with the Printed Papers of the

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[1] This defeat of the three companies at *Hindley*, is also noticed in the *Speciall Passages*,

Newes amongst you there inclosed, for which I return you many thanks, and in requital thereof have sent you, by this post, the passages and accidents which this last week hath befallen us in *Lancashire.* The countie, as you know, is grievously distracted and divided into two factions. The Papists and Malignants (whereof there are many in our countie) act one part, and the well-affected Protestants another. The Lord *Strange*, now Earle of *Derbie,* is the great ringleader of the Popish faction and Malignant partie, and keepes his rendesvous at *Warrington,* whither great multitudes of ill-affected people both out of *Lancashire* and *Cheshire* doe daily resort, it lying upon the frontiers of both. They make daily great spoyle in the countrey, which hath now awakned them of the countrey, and so incensed them, that they are, tide-death, tide-life, resolved to endure it no longer, as may appeare by the last skirmish that this last week fell out at *Leigh* and *Loaton* Common, between the Earle of *Derbie's* troopes and the country people, whereof I myself being one, can relate the truth.

For the last Sabbath, as wee were going towards the church, a post rode through the countrey, informing us that the Earle's troopes were comming towards the *Chowbent*: whereupon the countrey presently rose, and before one of the clocke on that day we were gathered together about 3000 horse and foote, encountring them at *Chowbent* aforesaid, and beate them backe to *Leigh,* killing some and wounding many. Where you might wonder to have seene the forwardnesse of the young youths, farmers' sons, who indeed were too forward, having had little experience of the like times before this.

And so we Over-rode our Foote being carried with a fervent desire to overtake them, and to doe some notable service upon them,

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Dec. 27, 1642; and an unpleasing companion to the picture will be found in Seacome's account of the ensuing reduction of Wigan, "trusted to the command of Major General Blaire, a Scotch Gentleman, recommended to him (Lord Derby) by the King; which town they (the Manchester garrison, &c.) took and plundered to the very utensils and plate of the Communion table, which one of their puritanical teachers, one Tyldsley hung round him, as the spoils and plunder of a popish Idol."—*House of Stanley*, p. 85.

so that we drove them to *Loaton* common, where they, knowing our Foote to be far behinde, turned faces about, and began to make head against us.

Whereupon a sharpe although a short Incounter, but when they perceived our full and settled resolution, they made away as fast as their Horses could carry them, and we after them, killing, wounding, and taking prisoners about 200 of them, and we lost never a man; only we had three of our men wounded, but not mortally, so that I think they will trouble us no more out of that part of the Countrey, but if they doe, we shall be better provided for them than before, for we are all upon our Guard, and the Naylers of *Chowbent* instead of making Nayles, have busied themselves in making Bills and Battle Axes.

And also this Weeke the other part of the Countrey meet, and intend not only to stand upon their guard, but to disarm all the Papists and Malignants within their precincts, which we are resolved upon in our precincts, and also by God's assistance to take the greatest Papists and most dangerous Malignants prisoners, and to carry them to *Manchester* to keepe house with Sir *Cecill Trafford*, that Arch Papist, who is there a Prisoner. For now the men of *Blackburn*, *Paduam*, *Burnely*, *Clithero*, and *Colne*, with those sturdy churles in the two forests of *Pendle* and *Rossendale* have raised their spirits, and have resolved to fight it out rather than their Beefe and fatt Bacon shall be taken from them.

For the last Weeke Sir *Gilbert Houghton* set his Beacon on fire, which stood upon the top of *Houghton* Tower and was the signall to the Countrey for the Papists and Malignants to arise in the *Field*,[1] and in *Lealand* Hundred; wherupon great multitudes accordingly resorted to him to *Preston* in *Andernesse*, and ran to Blackburne, and so through the Countrey, disarming all and pillaging some, which Master Shuttleworth, a Parliament man, and Master Starkie hearing off, presently had gotten together out of the places formerly mentioned about 8000 men, met with Sir *Gilbert* and his Catholique Malignants at *Hinfield* Moor, put them to flight, tooke away many of their armes, and pursued Sir *Gilbert* so hotly, that he quit his Horse, leaped into a field, and by the comming on of the night escaped through fur bushes and by-wayes to *Preston*, and there makes great defence by chaining up the *Ribble* Bridge and getting what force he can into the Towne for his securitie, out of which the Countrie swears they will have him, by Gods helpe with all his adherents either quicke or dead: so that by the next post I hope I shall certifie of some good posture that the Countrey will be in.

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[1] Meaning the district called *the Fylde*.

O that Parliament had but sent downe their 1000 Dragoniers into the Countrey—wee would not have left a Masse-monger nor Malignant of note but we would have provided a lodging for him.

It is reported by some about the Earle of *Derbie*, that he is very melancholy and much perplexed about that unadvised course that he hath run, for the last Thursday at *Warrington*, at dinner, he said he was born under an unfortunate planet, and that he thought some evill Constellation reigned at the time of his birth, with many such other wordes of passion and discontent, so that we all think he would purchase his peace with the Parliament at a very deare rate, for now he is fled from his hold, as yesterday, and tomorrow goes towards Congerton as is reported.

[The contents of page 7 and 8 relate to affairs in Yorkshire.]

So untill meeting am
*Altherton*, this 2
of *Decemb*. 1642.
Your *friend and servant*,
THOMAS JESLAND.

## XXIII.

*Orders concluded by the Lord Strange and his adherents at Preston in the County of Lancaster, with some Quæries*[1] *concerning the late differences at Winchester.* Printed December 29, 1642.

At a meeting at *Preston* in *Amounderness*, in the County of

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[1] The Queries (which do not relate to Lancashire) are omitted. The statements are merely the Parliamentarian account of the "Orders," with party remarks on the officers.

*Lancaster*, the tenth day of *December* 1642, by the Right Honourable *James* Earle of *Derby*, Lord Generall of the County of *Lancaster*, &c. Sir *John Grilington*, Knight, High Sheriffe of the County, *Alexander Rigby* of *Burgh* Esquire, *Robert Holt* Esquire, *Roger Kirby* Esquire, and *William Farington* Esquire, with many more great Papists, &c.

It is concluded and agreed, that the summe of eight thousand and seven hundred pounds shall bee rateably assessed upon the severall Hundreds of this County, according to an Agreement made at *Preston*, and according to an assessement for the Subsidie granted in the seventeenth yeare of His Majesties Raigne that now is, which said summe is to be imployed for the payment of 2000 foot and 400 horse, and also for the provision of a magazine, and ammunition for the said County, for the safeguard and security thereof, and the same monies forthwith to be raised and collected by such Officers as shall bee appointed for that service, and paid over to such Treasurer or Treasurers as shall be likewise named.

And it is likewise agreed that Sir *John Grilington*, Knight, now high sheriffe of this County, *Adam Morte*, Gentleman, Major of the Towne of *Preston*, and *William Farington*, Esquire, shall be Treasurers of the summe aforesaid. And that they or any two of them shall have full power to receive and disburse the same monies, and to give account of the same to the Lord Generall aforesaid, or to such as his Honour shall appoint.

And it is further agreed that Sir *John Grilington* and *Roger Kirby* shall be Collectors for the Hundred of *Lainsdale*; *Adam Morte*, Gentleman, Maior of *Preston*, and *Alexander Rigby* of *Burgh*, Esquire, for the Hundred of *Amounderness*; *William Farington* and *John Fleetwood*, Esquires, for the Hundred of *Layland*; *Henry Ogle*, Esquire, *John Bretherton*, Gentleman, and *Robert Mercer*, Gentleman, for the Hundred of West *Derby*; *Robert Holt* and *Francis Sherington*, Esquires, for the Hundred of *Salford*; Sir *John Talbott*, Knight, and *Ratcliffe Ashton*, Esquire, for the Hundred of *Blackborne*.

And it is also agreed, that Sir *John Grilington*, Knight, *Adam Morte*, Gentleman, Maior of *Preston*, (an arch Papist accounted) *James Anderton*, Esquire, and *Roger Kirby*, Esquire, or three of them, to be constantly resiant in the Towne of *Preston*, and to be a certaine Counsell there, to assist the said Generall and to receive his Lordships orders and commands, and to give his Lordship an account of their daily proceedings from time to time. And they are likewise to have power to call to their assistance, Sir *Gilbert Hoghton*, Knight and Baronet, (a convicted Papist) *Thomas Clifton*, *William Farington*, and *John Fleetwood*, Esquires, or any of them, or any other of His Majesties Commissioners of Array within the said County, so often as they shall see occasion.

And it is likewise agreed that *William Smith*, Gentleman (a profest Papist) shall be Commissary for the Hundreds of West *Derby* and *Layland*, and *Hugh Anderton*, Gentleman (an active and dangerous Papist) for the Hundreds of *Amounderness* and *Lainsdale*.

And it is likewise agreed that every Captaine of Foote shall receive for his pay ten shillings by the day, every Lieutenant foure shillings, every Ancient three shillings, every Serjeant eighteen pence, every Drummer fifteen pence, every Corporall twelve pence, and every Common Souldier nine pence. And that every Captaine of Horse sixteen shillings, every Lieutenant eight shillings, every Cornet six shillings, every Corporall foure shillings, every Trumpeter five shillings, every Horseman two shillings six pence. And every Captaine of Dragooneers twelve shillings, every Lieutenant six shillings, every Cornet foure shillings, Serjeant three shillings, Corporall two shillings, every Dragoneere eighteen pence, Kettle Drum two shillings, and to every Commissary five shillings *per diem*.

*Derby:*

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|---|---|
| *Jo. Grilington,* | *Alex. Rigby,* |
| *Roger Kirby,* | *Robert Holt,* |
| *Will. Farington,* | *Henry Ogle.* |

# Chapter IV.

FIRST MOVEMENTS OF MANCHESTER GARRISON—REDUCTION OF PRESTON, HOGHTON TOWER, AND LANCASTER, WITH THE REPULSE OF LORD DERBY AT BOLTON—RECOVERY OF PRESTON AND LANCASTER BY LORD DERBY—SUBSEQUENT SUCCESSES OF THE PARLIAMENT'S FORCES AT BOLTON, WIGAN, BLACKBURN, WARRINGTON, WHALLEY, PRESTON, LANCASTER, HORNBY, AND THURLAND—RETREAT OF LORD DERBY AND HIS FORCES TO YORK, LEAVING LATHOM SUMMONED.

JANUARY—JUNE MDCXLIII.

THE events comprised in the present Chapter relate to the successive sieges and conflicts which form the first part of the struggle between Lord Derby and the Manchester garrison, commencing with the Parliamentary reduction of Preston and Lord Derby's partial success at Lancaster, followed by the recovery of Preston, and terminating with his flight to the Queen at York, and the expulsion from Lancashire of most of his forces, leaving Lathom summoned.

Manchester had now become the head quarters of the Parliamentary force in Lancashire, and Wigan that of the Royalists,—namely, of the troops which Lord Derby had collected anew, after delivering up his three regiments, the result of his early musters, to the King at Shrewsbury.

## EXTRACTS FROM CONTEMPORARY NEWSPAPERS AS TO MINOR EVENTS, PRECEDING THE PARLIAMENTARY REDUCTION OF PRESTON.

*Mercurius Aulicus*, p. 4, Jan. 3, 1642-3.

Letters from Col. Hastings report to the House the intercepting by a private gentleman of fifty cases of pistols intended for *Manchester* by Sir William Brereton, "the only man excepted in his Majesty's pardon for the county of Chester."

### *Speciall Passages*, No. 22, 3-11 Jan. (p. 179.)

Reported from Manchester that Sir Thomas Fairfax, sent by his father Lord Fairfax to assist Bradford with his troops of horse, had sent to *Manchester* from thence Sir John Goodridge, Sir Thomas Danby, Mr. Hilliard, serjeant-major, and others of good qualitie prisoners, taken between Bradford and Leeds. See the account of this fight (Dec. 18) appended to Lister's Autobiography, p. 65, and the editor's note at page 14.

### *Mercurius Aulicus*, Jan. 10, p. 16.

That Col. Hastings (see above) had intercepted match, bandeliers, &c. going to Manchester; that the Earl of Essex had used the men intended for Manchester to fill up his regiments; that the town was in want of money, and Parliament had declined sending down Sir John Seaton, until it could be provided.

### *Perfect Diurnall* (Cooke's representatives) No. 31, Jan. 10.

Mention, in letters from Lancashire, that the Earl of Newcastle had been made Lord General of Cheshire and Lancashire, in place of the unsuccessful Earl of Derby, ordered to attend the King at Oxford, who had nevertheless endeavoured to obtain the signatures of the Lancashire Royalist gentry to a petition in favour of his remaining.

### *Continuation of certain Speciall and Remarkable Passages*, Jan. 12, 1642-3, No. 27, p. 4.

"It being also informed from Manchester that there was one Sir John Talbot, a great Papist, but one that hath all this while stood as a neuter betwixt the King and Parliament, who living within two or three miles of Manchester,[1] sent thither in a very friendly manner, and invited some of the chiefe of them there to come to his house, promisinge them very kind usage and some further courtesies by way of complyance with them. But they of Manchester placing little confidence in his word, sent out a small party of horse to the said Sir John Talbot's, to discover the preparations hee had made for theire entertainment, and whether the same was not a treacherous plot to betray them into his hands, as indeed upon enquiry it proved to be; for the said Sir John had secretly provided in his stables above an hundred horse fitted with all accoutrements, theire riders being neare at hand upon occasion to set upon the Manchester men.

"But this being discovered, the Manchester forces being too few to deale with them, retreated back to the towne, and about three hundred of them went presently to the said Sir John Talbot's, (who was then with all his horse upon flight) pursued them and killed divers of them, took about twenty of his horse, drove others into a river, where the riders were drowned, and their horses taken, and have seized upon the said Sir John's house, where they found good pillage."

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[1] *Manchester* is evidently named *here* instead of *Ribchester*, in the neighbourhood of which Sir John Talbot resided,—namely, at Salebury Park, the Ribble being the river intended, but "Manchester" is correctly used elsewhere.

## XXIII.

*The true relation of the taking of the Town of Preston by Colonell Seaton's forces from Manchester, sent in a letter from a worthy minister (an eye-witnesse thereof) to an emminent Divine in London.*[1]

Worthy Sir,

Be pleased to accept this poor rude paper, it is a messenger sent to tell you good tydings: we have assembled and taken *Preston*, a towne very considerable, and which much tends to the advancement of the publike work in this County, and not so altogether impertinent to the kingdom. We were about 900 or 1000 Firemen, horse and foot, and about 600 Bill-men, Halberdiers and Club-men; our march in the night was tedious, especially to many who had marched the night before, and to accommodate us in that, God gave us a faire night such as had not beene of a space before, yea and indeed the day forerunning threatened us a very foule night; this was of God.

Our men assaulted it a little before sunrising, in an houre's time they were masters of it; it was well fortified with Brick Walls outer and inner; our men (but especially three companies that came from *Manchester*) fell on with notable resolution; Captain

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[1] This account (by the vicar of Dean) contains several particulars not contained in the other contemporary account of the same event which follows it, and is taken from a broadside in the Collection of Miscellaneous Sheets in the British Museum (King's Collection). *Both* are blended together in the account given in Vicars's *Parliamentary Chronicle*, Part I. (*God in the Mount*) p. 268.

*John Booth* scaled their walls, bidding his soldiers either follow him, or give him up, but they forgetting their owne safety followed him.

The garrison fought it out stoutly: they kept their inner workes with push of pike, and also the breach they kept with their swords, which aggravates the matter.

We have not lost above three or four men (very strange) falling upon them in their Workes. Of theirs I saw lying in one street end at least five or six, besides other parts of the Towne severall, and many in the Houses, not calling for quarter: And as if men must have been singled out for slaughter we could scarce have picked out better, the Major (that was resolute to desperatnesse in the cause, that had oftentimes been heard sweare "*He would fire the towne ere he gave it up, and beginne with his owne house*") was slain, and that very day he had appointed to constrain the well-affected, or to have seiz'd on their estates, Sir *Gilbert Houghton's* brother, a Captain and a desperate papist, Mr. *Westby* a Physician and a desperate papist; a serjeant to the freehold, that lately came out of *Ireland*, a most wicked wretch, were of the number of the slain.

Severall of our men are shot, but none mortally (its notable), many are shot in two or three or four several places, and neither to death nor dangerously: we have taken some prisoners of note, Captain *Farrington*, Sir *John Talbot's* son, one *Fleetwood*, and they say, *Anderton of Clayton*, if so, I assure you he is one of the most considerable men for estate and activity and estate in the County, and many others with many arms, and a large part of things justly, and by plunder (alas, that that, it is so much lamented but most hard to be prevented) seized on: more prisoners of note we had been possessed of, but that honest flight rescued them. The fruit of this design is not yet perceived, but will shine forth more and more, I am confident. It blocks up the way that all the north-east part of *Lancashire*, where were the chief Malignants and the cream of the Earl's forces; yea and indeed they will come in (I am persuaded and partly perceive already) and subscribe to the propositions.

So soon as matters were settled, we sung praises to God in the streets (Sir, it was wonderfull to see it), the sun brake forth and shined brightly and hot, in the time of the exercise, as if it had been Midsummer.

Truly, Sir, we owe (subordinate to God) a great deal to Sir John *Seaton:* things are artificially and methodically done, past what they were before, he is a man of wonderfull care and unwearied industry, onely rather too harsh for our northern knotty rigged dispositions; had he the meek spirit and smooth tongue of *S. M. Sparrow,* he were peerlesse, and without parallel doubtlesse. Sir, I am in hast just come from Preston, and the post about to take horse, pardon my rudenesse and brevity; onely I beseech you assist us in praises, that we may not loose God for want of praises, and pray for us that plunder cry not louder for justice, than prayer for mercy.

Remember my love and service to your wife. Farewell is the wish of

Your humble servant and respective friend,
John Tilsley.

*Preston, Feb.* 11, 1642.

Postscript.

*Anderton of Clayton* is out of question taken, *Captain Preston* taken also, he with Captain *Farrington* came this night to Preston. The Serjeant, mentioned before, was an Irish Rebell, and *Fleetwood* before named was he that killed the man in Manchester, at that time the Earl came thither a little before the late siege.

London, printed by J. R. for Luke Fawn, Feb. 14, 1642.

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## XXIV.

*A perfect Relation of the Taking of the Towne of Preston in Lancashire by the Parliaments Forces under the command of Colonell Sir John Seaton, on Thursday, the ninth day of February* 1642. *As it* *was certified by some Gentlemen of repute in the same County, to a member of the House of Commons, with the names of those that were slain.*

*Together with very good news from Cheshire.*

*Ordered by the Commons in Parliament that this Letter be forthwith printed and published.* H. Elsynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

*London*, Printed for *Edward Husbands*, and are to be sold at his Shop in the Middle Temple. *Febr.* 16, 1642.

## A Perfect Relation of the taking of the Town of Preston in Lancashire, &c.

Good Sir,

Our due respects premised, I have often mentioned a designe, but now, praised be God, there is one acted, the happy successe and victory the Lord of Hosts hath given our *Lancashire* Forces. Upon Munday last Sir *John Seaton* (the Major Generall) marched from this Town, attended with Serjeant Major *Sparrow*, Colonell *Holland*, Capt. *Booth*, Serjeant Major *Birch*, with them three foot companies, and as many from *Boulton;* all these came to *Blackburn* upon Tuesday night; thence marched along with them four or five foot companies of *Blackburn* Hundred, under the command of Captain *Nowell* of Mearly, and other Captains, towards *Preston*, together with two thousand club men upon Wednesday night, and betimes the next morning. They fell upon the Towne couragiously, and after about two hours fight they entered it, Capt. *John Booth* first entered, behaving himselfe most bravely; there was a great strife between Collonell *Hollands* company and Capt. *John Booths* which should first have entrance. The Major Generall behaved himself gallantly at the end of the Church-street, where the entry was made; our musquiets beat them from their centeryes and from the steeple. There dyed of the Popish party, the Major of the Town (Master Adam Morte) who killed one of the Collonells men with push of his pike, but afterwards lost his own life for it, together with his son, and also M. *Radcliff Hoghton*, captain of the horse, (and brother to Sir *Guilbert Hoghton*) Serjeant Major *Purvey,* (lately come out of *Ireland*) and the Popish Doctor, Dr. *Westby*, with two or three Lievtenants and others more of quality, are likewise slain, and divers others which I saw were mortally wounded, and to some procured Surgeons. Sir *Guilbert Hoghton* escaped by flight to *Wigom,* and what more I cannot tell. Captain *Farrington* and Captain *Preston* are brought prisoners yesternight. Old Master *Anderton* of Clayton (their great Popish commander) is taken. Master *George Talbot* (Sir *John Talbots* son) Master *Richard Fleetwood,* Master *Blundells,* Mr. *Abbott,* Mr. *Maudisly,* two *Thomas Hoghtons,* Captain *Hoghton,* (Sir *Guilberts* nephew) *Ralph Shorrock, John Hylton,* and divers others of meaner qualitie, above two hundred, and your cousin, Master *Townly* of Townly, escaped narrowly.

My Lady *Hoghton,* my Lady *Girlington,* and Mrs. *Townly,* were also taken as prize. We tooke three pieces of ordnance, a murdering piece, a great number of musquiets, and many horses, with two or three colours, and divers were pillaged to a purpose. Few friends have suffered to any value; there were but two barrells of powder found in the town. We had only three or four common souldiers, not an officer slain on our side; we gave the enemy no leisure to annoy us with their guns, our entry was so quick, and the execution done was most with the sword. All the companies except Captain *Nowells* stayes there, and I thinke does intend to garrison that Town. The fruits of this successe are a large contribution out of the adjacent parts for maintenance of our forces, and an interruption of the passage from *Newcastle* to *Chester* and *Shrewsbury.* Of what further concernment it is to our Country I need not relate to you, and in what sort it will be good for the Kingdom you are able to conceive. Upon our fasting and praying on Wednesday last, God has given us this victory. *Deo detur gloria.*

From Chester very good news. Master *Lee* of Adlington hath left his home; his Tennants, Friends, and arms, are now for the *Militia.* They beat our new Earl and all those Popish ones every day in some place, driving them from hold to hold, and killing with good successe. I pray you thank God for us, and pray we may proceed with successe, and that we may heare good news from your parts shall be the daily task of

Your loving friends to serve you.

*Manchester*, this 10 of Feb. 1642.

You are desired to hasten the money, and what other supplies you can.

Major *Sparrow* denyes all hath been spoken in his commendation. He hath wholly surprized and taken the good affections of all our Country Gentlemen who are Captains, whereof I am right glad he acted his part in this and the contriving thereof very well, nor do I know that any man was defective in his duty, but all very couragious.

The Ladyes and Gentlewomen of note found here are guarded.

14 *Febr.* 1642.

It is ordered by the Commons in Parliament, that this Letter bee forthwith printed and published.

H. Elsynge, *Cler. Parl. D. Com.*

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## XXV.

### *First Assault-on-Bolton le Moors by Lord Derby's Wigan Forces, Feb.* 16, 1642-3, *from "Speciall Passages and Certain Informations from severall Places, collected for the use of all that desire to be truely informed. From Tuesday the* 14 *of February to Tuesday the* 20 *of February*, 1643."

*Manchester, ye* 18 (*Saturday*) *of February.*

We have been wonderfully delivered this weeke out of our enemies hands, for on Thursday last at Bolton the enemy came upon our men in such an unexpected, suddaine, and violent manner, that they quickly seized upon our outworkes; but they were againe beaten off with such undaunted courage of our souldiers, that they were glad to flie in a confused manner. On our side was slaine five common souldiers, but how many of theirs cannot be easily guessed, by reason of their usuall sleights of conveyance, for in many places were found some quantity of them dead; in one house no lesse than ten, besides not a few that were dangerously wounded.

Newes came hither last night that our partie sent hence had taken Lancaster, and that Captain *Birch* is left there governor for us: but of the truth of this letter you shall hear by the next post.

A more particular letter from *Manchester,* 18 *Feb.*

On Thursday morning last the enemie approached the Towne of *Bolton,* with the forces from *Wigon* at the top of the Picks (which is within a mile of the Towne) before that there was any certaine intelligence brought unto them within, so that the enimie was in view before they were aware; and marching furiously on, their horses presently surrounded the towne, and by the guidance of some of our neighbours that were amongst them, and of the company, so observed the ways and bridges, that if they saw any come into the aid of the towne, they presently road at them, and took their arms from them, such as they had, pitchforks and the like; but not many were thus met with, for upon the sight of the horse the unarmed men rather drew backe, for the present being no considerable number, and the foote came marching downe towards *Bradshaw Gate* end, where there was a great worke, and some company of musketeers placed therein, but the enemie so furiously set upon them at that place both with muskets and great cannon, that they forced them out of that worke (but there was another worke at *Hardmans,* of the Crosses) and presently they having wheeled about get betwixt us and the towne, and forced Captain *Ashurst* (who kept that end of the towne) to retreat towards the towne; and the truth is, he had stayed so long in the worke, that the enemie began to breake in upon them, so much that they came to hand blows, whereby the Captaine slew one man with his skeane, and one of his souldiers thrust another through with his pike. The enemie having taken the foresaid workes, came to the houses that lay without the chaine, and fired one of them, got into some others, and shot out of them, and then fired another lone house on the backside, and then fired a third house or barne with hay in it, and at last beat our men from the house side at the mud wall end, so that they were forced to fall backward and loose ground; but as it pleased God, the Capt. Lieutenant, and Soldiers, so well expressed their undaunted courage, that they sent them such stormes of bullets into the houses as powdered them to purpose. Then Captain *Ashurst* with some sixteen musketeers breake through a house, and shot awhile with good successe, and afterwards seeing them march up madly, commanded them all to shoote at once, and to flore the enemie, if possible they could, which through Gods providence they did, and so beate them off that they durst not come up any more, but drew away their dead and bleeding souldiers, retyred further of, and perceiving the shouts of the country people, that came in in great numbers, tooke what they could suddenly, and glad they could get away.

The Lord hath given us respite for a little time, that we may prepare for another bout. It may be they will not let the matter rest thus. Our word was, "*God is my helpe*," and he was so indeed, for he helped us against them that els would have devoured us. It is credibly reported that as the enemies got into the houses, they were (heard) commanded to fire the houses as they went, and that if any called for quarter they should not heed them, but slay and kill all, man, woman, and children. Oh the horrid cruelty that these men have attained to; nothing now but fire and sword, kill and slay. But I trust the God that hath delivered and doth deliver, will still yet deliver, though not for our merit yet for his mercies sake, to whom be praise and glory for ever and ever.

## XXVI.

*A* punctuall relation of the *passages* in Lancashire this weeke,

I. *Containing the taking of* Houghton Tower *by the Parliament's Forces, and the perfidious treachery of the Papists, who after they had upon quarter yielded up the Tower, treacherously set fire to a traine of powder and blew up Captaine* Starkey *with above a hundred men.*

II. *How the Earle of* Derbie's *Forces made an onset on the Towne of* Boulton, *and was drivin off with the losse of an hundred men, and but eight on the Town side.*

III. *The taking of the Towne and Castle of* Lancaster, *by Sergent-Major* Birch.

Printed in the Year 1643.

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### *A* punctuall Relation of Passages in *Lancashire*, this weeke. *February* 14, 1642.

I shall not now be troublesome to make a second Relation of what was done the last weeke in our parts, as how it pleased God to deliver *Preston* unto our hands, after a sharpe assault upon it and two houres fight by our forces in the Towne, there being divers of quality slaine on the Towne's side, and but three common souldiers on our part, nor how it hath pleased the Almighty to blesse our proceedings there since the taking of that Towne by bringing in multitudes of the country thereabouts, to joyne with our side, and how our men have taken divers Papists and Malignants of greatest eminency thereabouts, and have caused many others to comply with them and to pay great Fines for their present peace. Nor how Sir *John Seton* and Colonell *Holland* have all things after their owne mindes in these parts. But my intent is to proceed to relate of what hath happened since in our parts, viz. That upon Tuesday, being the 14th of this instant, there was sent from *Preston* three Captaines and their Companies, to the number of about three hundred, the most of *Blackeborne* men to take a castle called *Haughton* Tower[1] (belonging to Sir Gilbert *Haughton*) which lies between *Preston* and *Blackeborne*, and was fortified with three great pieces of ordnance, and some say with betwixt thirty and forty musqueteers, and some say more. Our men approaching near the said Tower first shot against it to summon it, whereupon they in the Tower desired half an houres time to consider what they should doe, which was granted unto them accordingly, after which the result of the parley was that they would deliver up the Tower to our men upon quarter, which was by our men granted unto them as they desired. Whereupon our men (thinking all had beene as was pretended by them) entered the Tower; and Captain Starkey of Blackeborne, a worthy gentlemen, and his Company, were the first that entred into the said Tower, and in the same found good store of armes and powder strewed upon the stairs; wherefore he with his company going into the upper rooms of the said Tower to search for more, were most treacherously and perfidiously blown up by two of them to whom they had before given quarter, who had a traine of powder

[1] Hoghton Tower, which has been already mentioned as the place where its gallant owner Sir Gilbert fired his beacon as a signal for the Royalists to muster, is described by Dr. Whitaker, in his *Whalley*, as the only specimen in his neighbourhood of a true baronial residence, with two courts, crowning the summit of an elevated ridge, and appearing at a distance like a fortified town.

The accidental explosion here mentioned is further noticed in the *Valley of Achor*; and in Nichols' *King James's Progresses* (iii. 398) will be found an ample account of the place, with remarks on the celebrated injunction as to Sunday sports said to have been promulgated *here* by that monarch in 1617, after a speech on the subject at Mirescough on the day preceding.

For remarks and authorities on this subject, interesting to every one who would investigate Lancashire history, or appreciate the character of its peasantry, the reader is referred to Hallam's *Constitutional History*, and Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*. The injunction (after being somewhat modified by 1 Car. I. cap. 1) was republished by Charles in 1633, and in 1643 ordered by the Parliament to be burnt by the common hangman. Among the instances of bold and steady resistance to this Injunction, may be mentioned that of Mr. Ashurst of Ashurst (whose son afterwards appears in these pages as a collector of subscriptions for distresses in Lancashire), which is stated by Baxter, in the funeral sermon of the latter in 1681, to have been sanctioned by the approval of the judges, in proceedings instituted against the magistrate at the instance of the King and Council.

laid, and when Captain Starkey and his men, to the number of above one hundred, were above in the House, gave fire to the said traine, and blew both him and all his men, with the top of the House up, threescore whereof were afterwards found, some without armes and some without legges, and others fearefull spectacles to looke upon. Six of them whom, they had given quarter unto, they had in hold, the rest got away before, but our men have the Tower and three pieces of great Ordnance that were cast besides divers Armes. And thus ended this lamentable Tragedy of these perfidious creatures whose religion will allow them to make no conscience of dealing treacherously with Protestants, as also to blow up whole states and kingdoms at one blast; and as for my part, I shall no more believe the treaties nor cessations that they shall agree to, then I will believe that the Pope and Devill can pardon them, when they have broken them.

There was left to keep *Boulton*, which lies betwixt *Manchester* and *Wigan*, Colonell *Ashton*, Captaine *Bulkley* of *Ouldham*, Captaine *Scoffield* of *Rochdale*, Captaine *Hoult* of *Bury*, and Captaine *Ashurst* of *Radcliffe-Bridge*, and all their companies to the number of 500. Upon Thursday morning last there came against this Towne, within a mile of it (before they had any certaine intelligence) from *Wiggan*, of my Lord *Darbie's* Forces, eleven Colours, two Companies of Dragooners, and some Troopes of Horse with their Cannons, who marched on so furiously, that by the guidance of some Malignant neighbours, had surrounded the Town before it was well aware, and had so stopt the passages that scarse any helpe could come from the country to relieve the Towne. The enemy gave the first assault at *Bradshaw* gate end of the Towne, where the Towne had three sconces, but the enemy set upon our men that were in them so resolutely, that they beate them from their workes, and forced them to retreate and leave them, and to runne with much difficultie and hazard towards a mudde wall and chaine which they had a little nearer the towne to save themselves; but amongst the rest Captaine *John Ashurst* was sore put to it, for as hee retreated towards the Towne with twenty-four men, there was sixty enemies got between him and home; and yet after sharpe bickering and the losse of a man or two, hee got safe to the chaine, having slaine one man with his owne hands, and his souldiers two or three more with their but ends of their muskets. When the enemy had gained these out-workes, they came furiously upon the mudde wall and chaine, and had thought to have broke through all, but there was such sharp service for a great while together as I think hath seldome beene heard of. They played sore upon our Workes with their ordnance, and shot quite through our mudde walls, which were two yards thicke, and one of their bullets, after it had runne through, hit a man on the leg and broke it. They shot iron bullets of five or six pound weight; they also came up to the breast of our workes, even upon the mouthes of our muskets, but wee received them so valiantly, and played on them so fast, that they could not enter there. Whereupon part of them fell off to the left, and entred five houses at the end of the Towne, the first being a Malignants, into which they were freely suffered to come into, and so out of those houses they played on the reere of our men that kept the Fort, and the rest played as fast on the front of them, insomuch that our men were forced for a while to give ground from their works. Whilst they thus shot out of the houses, they slew two of Captaine *Bucklies* men, and killed Sergeant Major *Leighs* horse under him; and as he was getting on the backe of another, he was shot through the arme, yet hee and his men stood to it very courageously, and hee called forth a squadron to goe against the houses which the enemy had taken. And one *Scoles,* his man, the first shot he made kild two of the men that had shot Serjeant Major *Leigh* in the arme, then two of our men entred one of the houses with the great ends of their muskets, and cleared that house, and entred upon the next, where there was such a threshing as never was heard of before, for besides the hand blowes that past, the enemy was so desperate that three times they came to the ends of their muskets, and catcht hold of them as they went off. Then Captaine *John Ashurst* broke through a house on the backe of them with sixteen musquettiers; and the enemy coming upon him very furiously, commanded them all to discharge at once, and to cleare the enemy if they could, which was performed so well that through God's providence, that they beate them away, and they never came up againe; but before they went away they fired three of the houses, but our men pulled down a house before them, that it did no further hurt. They also killed a woman and a childe, whilest they were in the houses, and swore they would leave neither man nor woman in the Towne. But praised be the Almighty, they could not attaine their bloody designes, for in conclusion they were beaten both out of the workes and houses they had taken; and when they heard the country began to come showting into our assistance, with a great deal of losse but more shame, they were glad to retire to their hold of *Wiggan* again, taking along with them two or three cart loads of dead bodies, and left behind them in their workes that they durst not take with them, twelve dead, and divers others mortally wounded, insomuch that it is thought there was slaine and wounded on their side nere upon a hundred men, whereof one was a Captaine named *Ashton* of *Penket,* and of our side we lost but eight or ten at the most, but never a commander. The chiefe mannagers of this exploit of theirs was *Anderton* of *Lostock, Anderton* of *Burchly*, and Sir *Gilbard Garrard*, with some others of note, being all recusants. Whilest they were thus busie fighting at *Boulton,* some foure troopes of horse, and seaven colours of foote, went a plundering about little *Lever,* but durst not stay to doe any great harme. Our men fought like lyons, and amongst the rest Colonell *Ashton* himselfe behaved himselfe very valarously, and shot with his owne hands as fast as he was able. And I verily beleeve a sharper bout hath never beene in our country fought. And indeed God did both exceedingly put courage into our men, and also fight for them, otherwise in all likelyhood wee had both lost the day, the Towne, our lives and all. There came to have aided us all the *Club* men in *Middleton, Ouldham,* and *Rachdale,* and old Captaine *Radcliffe* with two hundred fresh souldiers from *Manchester,* besides the country thereabouts to the number of one thousand five hundred men, but it was too late, they were gone away to *Wiggan* before these came.

From *Preston* there was sent Sergeant Major *Birch* to *Lancaster*, to view whether the Townes were fortified strongly against him or no, who finding no great opposition, with his owne company entred the Towne, and after the Towne joined with him, and they went against the Castle, wherein was Master *Kirby*, one of the Knights of the Shire, and Sir *Jo. Girlington*, with some other forces, who perceiving they were not able to resist, stole away out of the Castle, and so Captaine *Birch* took possession of it.

## XXVIII.

*An Account of the Burning of Lancaster, Storming of Preston by Lord Derby, and Major Brewyers Defeat of the Parliamentarians (Royalist's Account) from Mercurius Aulicus,* March 26—April 2, 1642-3, p. 159.

"But to give satisfaction for this ill newes, for ill newes it was, though not so bad as some have made it,[1] there came newes as good, which was a punctual and exact relation of the good successe befallen the Earle of *Darby* in *Lancashire*, of whom it is affirmed by an *expresse* from thence, that upon Monday, March 13, he marched out of *Wigan*, with 600 foot and 400 horse, and quartered on Tuesday night at *Kirkham*, where the countrie people, to the number of 3000, being wearied with the insolence and tyrannie of the *Rebels*, came with great cheerfulnesse unto him: that upon that day he came within four miles of *Lancaster*, intending to take from the rebels those pieces of ordinance which they before had seized on from a Spanish ship,[2] and the next day was met by Sir *John*

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[1] Alluding to the defeat of Lord Herbert, at Newnham, in Gloucestershire, by Waller.

[2] See more on this subject in *God's lift-up hand for Lancashire*, and the *Valley of Achor*, following.

*Girlington* and Colonell *Tildesley* with 600 men, whereof 300 were musketeers, and so went to *Lancaster.*

"That upon Saturday, *March* 18, they summoned the Towne, being well ſortified, and manned with 600 musketeirs under the command of Lieutenant Colonell *Holcroft*, Serjeant Major *Sparrow*, and Serjeant Major *Heywood;* which being refused after two houres hot service, they forced the mote, and drave the *Rebels* into the Castle. That Captaine *Shuttleworth* (a member of the House of Commons) and many of his Townsmen, were killed at the Castle gate, the Maior and diverse of the Townsmen, such as were most seditious, being taken prisoners. That laying siege to the Castle, the Earle of *Darby* was advertized by his espials, Munday, *March* 19, that Sir *John Seton*, with 1500 musketeers and some troopes of horse, were come from *Preston*, having drawne together, to make up that body, the most part of the forces which they had in all the towns and places of importance in the whole county. That the Earle taking notice of this opportunity, drawing his army into battalia, forced the enemy, and in the meane time, whilest they expected to be charged, sent a considerable party towards *Preston*, being thus left destitute, and set fire on *Lancaster*, that it might be no receptacle to the beaten *Rebells.* That in the taking of *Preston* (the news of which you had in the former week)[1] there was killed in the place 80 of the rebels, whereof Captain *Ashworth* and Captain *Will. Shuttleworth* were the chief, and about 3 or 400 prisoners taken, of which Captain *Standish* was one, together with one brass piece of ordnance. That after the said Towne was taken, his Lordship had especial care to preserve the place, and only gave command that the houses of those who had betrayed the Towne before should be responsall to his Majestie for theire Masters treason, whose goods his Lordship ordered to be seized and equally divided among the soldiers. That the next morning, being March 22, the whole Country came in with apparent joy, and many signal affections of their good affections to his Majestie, flinging up their hats, and shouting out, *God blesse the King, and the Earle of Darby*. And finally, to make up the summe, it was advertized also in the same *Expresse*, that the same day Serjeant Major *Brewyer*, who commanded his Lordships regiment of horse, did with a troope of his defeat two troopes of dragooners, being 140 in the totall, under the command of Captaine *Norris*, taking the Captaine himself prisoner, together with 40 of his souldiers, and having killed no lesse than 50 in the very place. So as now the Earle hath abundance of ammunition, the want whereof did hinder his Lordships good proceedings against the Rebells."

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[1] The particulars respecting Preston in the preceding number of *Mercurius Aulicus*, here alluded to, are (as given from letters dated March 21) :—

That the Earl attacked it about ten o'clock, on the night of Monday, March 22d, and became master of it after two hours hot fight, with the loss of ten or twelve men only. That the rebels' magazine was there, and that *Roseworm*, *Shuttleworth*, *Holland*, and *Ashton*, were in the town not long before the assault. That the younger *Shuttleworth* was slain, and his whole troop defeated, two days before, by Lord Molineux. And that when Lord *Derby* came away from *Lancaster*, he brought the mayor and many others, prisoners, with him.

See the *preceding* Tract, respecting Captain William Shuttleworth's death at *Lancaster* (and *not* at *Preston*), which first statement agrees with the pedigree of the family, in Whitaker's *Whalley*, 3rd edit. p. 339.

## XXIX.

*Lancaster's Massacre, or the new way of advancing the Protestant Religion, and expressing loyaltie to the King and Queene, namely, to cut the throats of Protestant men, women, and children, as lately the Papists and Malignants did at Lancaster. Related in a letter from a Gentleman of great note in Lancashire to a friend in London, who the Bookseller can name, which Letter is here printed verbatim.*

London, Printed for *Tho. Underhill*, at the Bible in Wood Street, *April* 1, 1643.

A Copie of a Letter from a Gentleman of great worth in *Lancashire*, to his friend in *London*, who the stationer can name.

I have not time to write any large discourse, the news is not so good, but you may heare enough of it; yet rather than let you be abused with falacies, I will give you the summe of all briefly. After the taking the ordnance from the Spanish ship, we carried them all safe to the castle of *Lancaster;* within few dayes after the Earle of *Darbie* advanced towards us, all the Papists rising wholly with him. Our Major having notice of it, sent to *Boulton* and *Manchester* for relief for us. Mr. *Ashton* undertook the charge, and advanced as far as *Garston*, and hearing that the ennemie fled upon his coming, he returned to *Preston*. Whereupon the Earl readvanced towards us, and after some two hours hard fight, with the great slaughter of our enemie (for we could at several times see two or three of their colours fall at once, and bodyes lye on heaps) they dispersed themselves among the hedges, and at the back of the houses, and set the town on fire. This inforced our men to retire to the Castle; whereupon the enemie entered the town, and killed man, woman, and children, with all barbarous crueltie, dragging poore people from their houses, and cutting their throats with butchers knives: they set fire round the town and departed. We had no victuals in the Castle; the well there was presently drunk drie; but we issued out again into the burned town, tooke divers of the enemies there remaining prisoners, and out of the store yet unburned we victualled ourselves for a good time. Thus we lay two or three hours, the enemie encompassing us on all sides, but (we were without any feare of danger) at last the Major Generall and Master *Ashton* came to relieve us: they drew all the strength of *Preston* and adjacent parts with them. The Earl lying at *Ellwell*, they drew to *Cokeram*, and passed by him to us. The Earle, who was no way able to have fought with them, took this opportunitie of the town of *Prestons* weaknesse, and fell back upon it, and took it that night. Master *Hopwood* and *Peter Shaw* were there taken, and yet escaped again. I know not the losse that there received; I am sure it was overmuch. At my going past I left my armour, clothes, and a hundred muskets there; these are lost, I having nothing left. Upon notice, the Earl was marched towards *Preston;* Sarjeant Major *Sparrow* and

Master *Ashton* followed him; he had the towne before we came, and as we are certainlie informed, all this crueltie arises from the Earl of *Darbie*, who hath taken all the great Papistes into his counsell, who before were not admitted, who have put him upon this cruell massacre, and all rise with him as one man; and if it be in their power, will not leave a true Protestant in these parts. If God and good people do not look upon us, which God grant they may, this countrie will be open for the Queene to passe with her forces, who hath alreadie sent 1100 to *Skipton*, toward *Blagborne*. Being in haste I cannot inlarge, but rest

Your faithfull
friend,
J. H.[1]

*Lancaster*, the 25
March, 1643.

## XXX.

*Gods Lift up Hand for Lancashire, presented in a Sermon, Preached before the Honorable Committee of the County at Lancaster. Upon the* 18*th of December* 1645. *Being a Solemne day of Thankesgiving to God for clearing of the County, in subduing the enemies thereof. By Nehemiah Barnet, Minister at Lancaster.*

London. Printed by *W. Wilson* for *John Williams* and are to be sold at the Crown in Pauls Churchyard. 1646. 12mo. pp. 47.[2]

"*Isaiah* xxvi. 11. Lord when thy hand.........shall devoure them.

........... "I shall not now lead you abroad to behold a sight of the lift up hand of God, protecting and prospering our Armies by Sea and Land; but I shall keep me within the confines of this County—

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[1] On the last page of this tract is a woodcut, exhibiting the Lady of Babylon riding on a seven-headed monster, with toads proceeding from her mouth towards three figures, representing a monk, a bishop, and a noble, or gentleman, who are inhaling the same, and whom the female figure (which is attired as pope) addresses with the words, "Estote proditores, betray yourselves!" In the title page there is also a shield, charged with a cross, *inverted*.

[2] This extract is inserted out of the order as to date, from the illustration which it gives of a preceding Tract (p. 84), as to the cannon taken to Lancaster, mentioned also

"1. Looke back unto the Infancy of these bloudy times by our unnaturall wars and consider the unskilfulnesse of our Commanders and soldiers……; but Gods lift up hand …..which put the worke into their hands…… at the very first assault of *Manchester*.

"2. Look upon the number of our soldiers at that time, not above five hundred firemen,[1] against thousands that came against that then naked and unfortified towne of *Manchester*, yet prevailed not, but were driven backe with losse and shame and would not see God's lift up hand against them, though he caused the heavens at that time to weep for them, who could not weep for themselves.

"Look upon the little Elbow roome, we then had in the County, for when Gods lift up Hand had appeared gloriously in *Saltford* Hundred, *Blackbourne* Hundred was the onely other Hundred in the Countie that was most forward and next appeared in the same cause, then our Enemies commanded all the Castles in the County, had foure Garrisons for one, four parts of the County to command two parts and could command as many adjacent Counties for their assistance.

"3. Look upon the many meanes and advantages; they had many roaring, thundering, terrifying Cannons, we but one small peece: one (Mr. *Angeer*) said well of them, theirs did but play, but did no worke; whilst the lift up hand of the God of the Seas was working with the windes to bring a *Dunkirke* Ship, a man of War, that came from Spaine, furnished with one and twenty Peeces of Brasse

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in the *Valley of Achor*; and of the temporary abandonment of Lancaster Castle, by Birch, which is, however, stated (in the *Valley of Achor*) to have been shortly repossessed by the parliament. Several passages of this discourse are borrowed *verbatim* from that Tract, as noticed in the introduction to it.

The Committee before whom this discourse was preached, was the "Committee of the County of Lancaster," constituted under an ordinance of August 29, 1645, hereafter mentioned.

[1] Musqueteers, called, indifferently, firelocks, and firemen.

and Iron Ordnance fit to supply our present wants and to carry them so neare our strongest Castle, which had no Cannon at all. . . .

“ And shall wee not remember the hand of God, in preserving the Castle of *Lancaster*, after the Cannons were hastily conveyed thither: the envy of our Enemies was presently encreased and therefore with much fury and with all their forces came against the Towne and Castle and were so hot that they quickly fired the Towne and thought thereby to have fired or frighted us out of the Castle and so have gained that which Gods hand had lately given unto us. Yet unwilling to fight with our Forces that came to relieve us, fearing thereby they should lose their Plunder, wherewith they were loaden, retreated and took the opportunity to prevaile against *Preston* which successes surprised the Spirits and discouraged the hearts of the chief Commander in the Castle that they thought the safest way for themselves was to march towards *Manchester* and quit the Castle.”

## MEMBERS OF THE LANCASHIRE COMMITTEES OF SEQUESTRATION, &C.

I. 1643, April 1. An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for “sequestering notorious Delinquents' Estates.”—*Husbands*, p. 13.

*Committee of Sequestrators for Lancashire* (p. 19):

Sir Ralph Ashton, Bt.
Sir Thomas Stanley, Bt.
*Ralph Ashton of Downham.
Ralph Ashton of Middleton.
Richard Shuttleworth.
Alexander Rigby.
John Moore.
Richard Holland.
Edward Butterworth.
John Bradshaw.
*William Ashurst.
Peter Egerton.
George Dodding.
Nicholas Cunliff.
*John Starkey.
*Thomas Birch.
Thomas Fell.—Esquires
*Robert Cunliffe.
*Robert Curwen.
*John Nowell.—Gents

II. On May 7 (following) another Ordinance was passed, “for levying of money through England and Wales, for the relief of the Commonwealth, by taxing such as have not at all contributed or lent, or not according to their estates and abilities;” and the Commissioners are the same as those of the preceding list of April 1, omitting the names with a * prefixed.—*Ibid.* 171.

III. A list of the same names as of those appointed on April 1, with the addition of Thomas Chittatun (Chetham) of Nuthurst, also occurs at p. 572 ibidem, as the "Lancashire Committee under the Ordinance of Oct. 18, 1644, for an assessment of England and Wales, for the present relief of the British Army in Ireland.'

IV. The same names are also inserted as those of the proposed Lancashire Commissioners in the Bill presented to the King at Oxford "for the punishment of scandalous clergymen and others," by the Committees from both Houses (Ibid. p. 131), with the exception of the names of Stanley, Egerton, and Birch, and with the names (*in addition*) of Henry Ashurst, William Ambrose, Henry Doughty, Robert Hyde of Denton, John Bradell, Richard Ashton, Jos. Radcliffe, Esquires; Nicholas Rigby, Thomas Hammond, and John Hayworth, Gents. In this list also Alexander Rigby *de Burgh*, who was a Royalist, seems to be inserted by mistake instead of Alexander Rigby, afterwards Colonel.

The reader who wishes to identify the LEADERS among those who were the lay supporters of the Parliamentary interest in Lancashire, will learn this precisely by comparing these four lists with the names of the deputy lieutenants in page 2, preceding; the newly appointed magistrates, in p. 60; and the Committee of Lancashire (hereafter noticed), as appointed in 1645, and given by *Husbands*, p. 718.

A Committee for directing sequestrations of ecclesiastical property in Lancashire was also appointed in 1649; but the members of it belonged, (in part,) to a lower class of society. A list of them is given in Dr. Hibbert's *Hist. of the Coll. Church*, i. p. 293.

## XXXI.

*Manchesters Joy for Derbies Overthrow, or an exact relation of a famous Victory obtained by the Manchester Forces against the Lord Strange, Earle of Derby, at Warrington in Lancashire, where the said Earle was beaten into a Steeple with the losse of many of his men with a true declaration of what ensued thereupon. Published to prevent misinformation.*

Printed for *Bernard Hayward*. 1643.

Manchester's Joy for Derbies Overthrow being an exact Relation of a great Victory obtained by the Manchesterians against the Earle of *Derby* &c.

Tis not unknown to all the Kingdom, that the Manchester Men since the beginning of these distractions have behaved themselves like men, and to their lasting fame, have expressed themselves worthy champions for the Gospell of light, loyall subjects to his Majesty in maintaining the lawes of this Kingdome, faithfull servants to the parliament in defending their privileges, and worthy heires of freedom in seeking to preserve the liberty of the subjects of this land.

To give you a touch of some worthy exployts performed by them.

First, call to mind how long they were besiedged by the Lord STRANGE, and how by their own vallour (encouraged and inabled by God) and perswaded by the Justice of their cause, they removed the siedge, and forced the said Earl to fly and leave his Trenches with the losse of many of his men.

Nor were they satisfied with their own inlargement, but considering that God had not lent them power and ability to free and enlarge themselves, but that there was some other end in it, which consideration produced a publike consultation, that consultation converted to resolution, resolution prompted them to action, and such actions as were full of honour, religion and love they made their freedome the instrument to preserve those that were in danger of surprizall, and to redeeme those that already were surprized, and all their actions as farre as in them lay, tended to the security of the peace of that County of which they were the least considerable part.

First they endeavoured to disarm all papists and evill affected persons, to the end that they might be disabled to disturbe the peace of the said County, by rising themselves in Rebellion against the King, and Parliament, or by assisting the said Earl and his confederates, who were actual disturbers of the peace of that County.

Second they endeavoured to their utmost endeavours to expulse the said Earl and his forces out of the said County, and to take from him all such townes or places of any strength, which he had taken and to preserve all other places, as at the present he had not taken, to the end that they might be secured for the service of the King, and Parliament.

In this service they underwent many hot skirmishes in which (if fame speake truth) the said Earle had no greate cause to boast of his greate victories, for had he not prevailed by his treacherous designs more then by his martiall attempts, I believe he had been a strange Lord in those parts before this time.

Yet notwithstanding he hath so long escaped that deserved judgement, which dogs him at the heels yet let him and his confederates know, that every minute the score is inlarged, and the longer the time, the larger the reckoning; they that clime the mountain of Iniquity must come into the Vale of Repentance—blood must have blood—the persecuters on earth shall be persecuted elsewhere. Victory is not chained to his sword, nor successe to so bloody an abbettor of so base a cause (as the advancement of ☞) that this is apparent see the information which that county affords.

It is informed that after the Manchester Men had routed the town of Wiggen in the County of Lancaster, where was quartered about fourteen hundred of the Earle of Derbies forces, that towne being the only place of receipt for papists goods and treasure of papists, where they slew many, and tooke about 800 prisoners, and 500 more quite routed, and above one thousand Arms besides Ordnance taken and treasure, and goods of papists to the vallue of twenty thousand pounds.

This Victory beeing obtained without any considerable prejudice to the Manchesterians, in respect of the great Victory obtained, they were so fleshed with this, that having rallied their disordered troops who were scattered about the town to refresh themselves, being somewhat weary after so hot a skirmish, they marched towards Warrington, a town of great strength where some write the Lord Strange was quartered, where being arrived they gave a suddaine a valiant onset against the town, which put the said Earl and his forces to such a non-plus, that maugre their resistance they were forced into the Church, to secure themselves, where without all question the said Earl is surprized or slain, for there is in humane reason no possibility for him to escape, but either he must yield upon quarter, or fight it out against such odds, as death inevitable must follow, from either of which proceeds the suddaine peace of that County and happily of the whole Kingdome, he being one of the greatest incendiaries, and disturbers of the peace thereof.

A similar account of the reduction of Wigan and Warrington will be found in Vicars' *Parliamentary Chronicle*, part i. 297, stating (among many superfluous flourishes) that Lord Derby's forces, to the amount of 1400, had been beaten by Sir John Seaton "in Wiggon in Lancashire, the only or main place of receipt for the Papists' treasure." His loss is stated at 800 prisoners, 500 quite routed, and loss of treasure to the amount of £20,000. For the details of this conquest, made but afterwards abandoned, see more particulars in Rosworm's "*Good Services.*"

Vicars then mentions the advance of the Manchester troops to Warrington, "with their valued and faithfull German engineer," and anticipations corresponding with those in this pamphlet, which however were not realized until another assault took place in the month following.

The circumstances attending the failure of that now alluded to are subjoined in the following extracts from *Mercurius Aulicus*, and Burghall's contemporary *Diary*. An account of the reduction of Warrington in May, will be found in the succeeding pages, and a notice of its important consequences in the history of the siege of Lathom.

## XXXII.

### *Repulse of Manchester Garrison and Sir William Brereton at Warrington, (Royalists' Army) from Mercurius Aulicus*, p. 179, 1643.

Saturday, April 8.—The first news of this day was of a double defeate given by the Earle of *Derby* to Sir *William Brereton*, at *Warrington* in *Lancashire*, a towne very neare the borders of *Cheshire*. *Brereton* coming thither upon an hope of hindering the Earl's proceedings, who was going with part of his forces towards *Manchester*. But *Brereton* being well beaten at the first onset, with the losse of many of his men and some of his colours, had no minde to go away till he had perfected the Earles victorie and his owne overthrow, and therefore drew into the field againe with the accession of some new forces from Manchester, to play double or quits.

Which being perceived by the Earle of Derbie, hee purposely held off from accepting the battaile till the duske of the evening, and then sent some of his owne men under Brereton's colours to make towards them; who being taken and indeed mistaken for theire owne party, were suffered to joyne with them or come very neare them upon the one side; and then the Earle charging very hotly upon the other, they made a great impression on both sides, and having thus caught them in a trapp, defeated them with greater slaughter and little labour. But for the particulars of this peece of service, how many of the rebels were taken prisoners, how many slain, and with what losse on the King's side, is not yet made knowne.

*Extract on the same subject, from Burghall's contemporary Diary, entitled "Providence Improved," MS. copy in Cole's Collections, Brit. Mus.*

1642-3, March 23.—The next week after, Sir William Brereton with most of his horse went to Nantwich, and in Easter week Manchester men and he with their forces agreed to meet at Warrington, for the gaining that town from the Earl of Derby, who had strongly fortified it, being present in his own person. On Monday, in Easter week, Captain Ardern and some other Captains, with their companies, did face the town." Here follows an account of a sally of the Royalists, apparently that alluded to in the *Merc. Aulicus*, and of subsequent advantages of Sir William, who was on the point of taking the town (as described in *Manchester's Joy*, &c.) had *not the Earl fired it*, in consequence of which the Parliament forces retired, "to save it from utter desolation."—p. 116.

## XXXIII.

## *A True Relation of a great and wonderfull Victory obtained by Captain Ashton and the Parliaments Forces against the Earl of Derby at Whalley in Lancashire. As it was certified in a letter from a Gentleman there, to a Member of the House of Commons. For which great mercie they have appointed a day of Thanksgiving.*

*London.* Printed for *Edw. Husbands*, and are to be sold at his
shop in the middle Temple. May 8, 1643.[1]

A TRUE RELATION of a great and wonderfull VICTORY &c.

SIR,—Though I be from Manchester, yet having this convenient

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[1] The tide of the Earl of Derby's temporary success in Lancashire appears to have

Bearer thither, I thought good to give you a Relation (in which I desire not to exceed) of Gods great preservation of us, which was Greater then I mentioned in my last: *viz*, That the Earl of *Derby*, the Lord Mollineux, Sir Gilbert Hoghton, Colonell Tildesly, with all the other great Papists in this County, issued out of Preston, and on Wednesday noon came to Ribchester with eleven Troops of horse, 700 foot, and infinite of club men, in all conceived to be 5000. We lying at Dunkenhalgh-hall with our two Troops hearing of his great force retreated to Padiam, having before sent to Colonell *Shuttleworth*, to raise the Country which he did, all the firemen came in the next morning (though they have had no pay this 5 weeks) and some few clubmen: I did compute us to be 60 horse, and some 400 foot, not above five hundred I am sure at the first: we marched with our horse towards Whalley, where we tooke a man and 2 geldings of Mr. *Lathams* the great Papist, and retreated

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completely turned with this battle, which was fought on April 20, the Thursday preceding the writer's date of April 24.

On April 2d, the writer of *Mercurius Aulicus* stated, that all Lancashire, except *Manchester*, had submitted to the Earl since the success at *Preston*, and the subsequent victory of Major Brewyer—*that he intended speedily to go to Manchester*, and hoped soon to be master of a considerable army fit for any action in which his Majesty pleased to employ the same. At this time *Bolton* was supposed to have fallen to the Earl, but as mentioned in the *Valley of Achor*, the *second* assault of March 28 failed.

*Wigan* (the Earl's head quarters) was stormed on April 1, chiefly by Colonel Ashton's men, assisted by Roseworm. The town itself, however, was abandoned, and resumed by the Royalists, as more fully stated by Rosworm, and as already mentioned in p. 94.

*Blackburn*, in the *Perfect Diurnall*, of April 6 (No. 43), is stated to have been taken by the Royalists after Preston, but retaken by Seaton, then besieging Preston with 3000 men.

Then succeeds the corresponding mixture of success and discomfiture at *Warrington*, noticed in the preceding Tract, which was the crisis of Derby's fate. It was followed by the repulse of Tyldesley at Wigan, and the defeat here described, and accompanied by disappointments consequent on a portion of his troops being ordered southwards instead of joining in the desired attack on Manchester, with which he had hoped to crown his success at Preston and Lancaster. For this the reader is referred to Seacome, and to the Earl's own simple account, in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, lib. xi. p. 22, first edition.

to Read-bank, here we discovered above 150 horse to follow us, and when our foot was come thither to us, our horse retreated more, our foot advanced close under a wall, only myself stood and faced the enemy: I made as though I fled, they pursued me, when I knew they were in the command of our men, I advanced again and shot off my pistoll (being the signe for our foot); whereupon our men discharged with a great showt; the enemies horse fled in great disorder, we wounded many, took forty prisoners, some horse and 60 musquets, our firemen pursued them to Whalley, where the Earl of *Derby* and the rest were in the Abbey, much ado we had to keep our Souldiers back, the enemy (who were ten for one of us) discharged his Cannon 5 times, but hurt not a man of us, (blessed be our good God) he drew into a body, we being out of order ran under hedges, played upon them with our muskets, and routed their foot, which fled over the Water, their horse still facing us, our men still pursued them to Lango-green, where Captain *Ashton* and myselfe with much ado caused our first men to stay till more came up, then our men shot; their horse fled; then all our horse came up and pursued them through Salisbury Park, and to Ribchester, and most of their great ones had some touch, or some narrow escape, as themselves report. And having thus driven them out of the hundred, we retreated to Padiham, where having a good Minister, some hours were spent in thanksgiving for this great deliverance, and be assured it is to be taken (next the first great bout at Manchester) the greatest deliverance we have had. We had one day last week, and on Friday next we are to observe a Thanksgiving both in Salford Hundred and this, with praises to our God. The intent of the enemy was to overrun this Hundred, and so to Bolton and Manchester, (as upon examination appears by the prisoners) and be assured if the Lord had suffered this part to fail, we had in al probability bin utterly undone. The enemy stole all horses and beasts as far as they went; I hope our Gentlemen in this county will consider to joyn and clear the county; This part which before was dejected, is now through Gods mercy united and raised, and the common people never more forward, and the souldiers more couragious, but the Lord is our preserver;

So desiring still to hear from you, I rest

*Your loving Friend.* E. F.

Padiham, 24. April,
1643.

### EXTRACTS FROM NEWSPAPERS AND CONTEMPORARY AUTHORITIES, IN CONTINUATION OF THE PRECEDING EVENTS.

*April* 22, 1643. *Retreat of the Royalists from Wigan, and retirement of the Earl of Derby from Lancashire.*

*Speciall Passages*, No. 39, May 6.—An account from Manchester of that date, giving an account of this retreat as of Saturday senight (viz. April 22) with which the following extracts from Vicars' *Chronicle* accord, and are substituted for it as being more ample.—*Vicars*, part i. p. 321. *May* 1643.

"Certain intelligence came again out of *Lancashire* that the noble and renowned Manchesterians under the command of Collonel *Ashton*, with about 22 hundred horse and foot, marched towards *Wiggon*, where Collonel *Tilsley* commanded for the Earl of *Derbie* with 9 troops of horse and 700 foot. But when brave and victorious Collonel *Ashton* appeared before the town, the enemies were immediately smitten with astonishment of heart, durst not stand to it, but fled away from thence to Latham, leaving Wiggon to their possession: whereupon the noble Collonell demolisht all the outworks and fortifications, burnt the new gates and posts that had been set up, took an oath of the townsmen never to bear arms against the King and Parliament, and then this brave Collonel pursued the enemie in their flight to *Latham*, whereupon the Earl of *Darbie* and his companie fled thence also to a town called *Prescot*, thinking there to have drawn in the countrey to him, but the brave Manchesterians pursued them close, thither also, and the enemie was forced to flie back to Latham.

"But Collonel *Ashton* still pursued them, and forced them thence again, and made them flie to *Preston*, whether also the *Manchester* forces, giving neither themselves nor their enemies any rest, followed them close, still driving the Earl thence also, and made him flie either to *Hornbie Castle*, or else to the Queen into the *North*, his forces being driven at least eight miles from *Preston*, and pursued by Collonel

*Ashton*, whose forces much increased by these his so prosperous proceedings, and many of the Earls soldiers coming in willingly and cheerfully to serve him.

"The Earl of *Derbie* shortly after sent to Collonel *Ashton* to desire him not to fire his house at Latham, promising him 300*l.* if he would spare it. But the noble Collonel sent him word that he scorned his money or the firing of his house, and desired nothing more of him than to meet with him, and to give him battell; but he, as I said, ran quite away out of the countie, and durst not stay to accept that motion."[1]

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[1] This second reduction of Wigan, on April 22d, would take place three weeks after the first assault and reduction of it by the Manchester forces on April 1, but the movement of Lord Derby towards the Queen appears to have been misunderstood by the journalists, and may be explained as follows from his own statements in Peck's *Desid. Cur.* ii. lib. xi. p. 22, with some additions from Rushworth, part 3, vol. ii. pp. 156, 274.

The Queen landed from Holland at Burlington, Feb. 22, 1642-3, reaching York on March 8, and in a preceding Tract (*Lancaster's Massacre*, dated March 25) she is stated to have pushed outposts to Skipton, in route towards Blackburn. Derby was at Whalley, in that neighbourhood, and defeated by Ashton there on or about April 20. From thence (as in the text) he retired to Lathom, whence Ashton pursued him.

According to his own account, it was desired by the Lancashire gentry that he would go to the Queen "respecting their necessities," and begging her aid, and he appears to have been equally troubled by the enemy and by his own troops, "under the government of the Lord Mollineux and others" in his absence.

In this absence the reduction of all Lancashire took place, except Lathom, Greenhaugh, Hornby and Thurland (the two last of which fell before June 21), and the Queen's aid being prevented by Newcastle's misfortune at Wakefield on May 21, the Lancashire Royalist troops, "*yet remaining*," followed Lord Derby to York, expecting to have found him there." But news of the intended invasion of Man by the Scots, having reached York, with other rumours of a revolt there, Derby, most reluctantly, had previously abandoned his long continued "desire to wayte upon the Queen to Oxford," and had withdrawn to his insular sovereignty. The entire account, in his own simple and pathetic narrative, is well worth perusal.

A similar statement will be found in the *Siege of Lathom*, from which it appears that the Royalists, marching to York, were under the command of Lord Molyneux and Colonel Tyldesley. The Queen, leaving York in June, advanced by Pontefract and Newark, *reducing Burton-on-Trent on July* 2, joining Rupert at Stratford-on-Avon, on July 11, and the King on the 13th, in the neighbourhood of Edgehill. (*Rushworth*, part 3, vol. ii. 274, and Drake's *Eboracum*, i. 163.)

The Lancashire troops are not mentioned in the Queen's letter to the King, from Newark; but it is certain that Tyldesley was with her, as he earned his knighthood by commanding the cavalry in the desperate charge over the thirty-six arches of *Burton Bridge*. Richard Gerard (brother of Sir William, and cousin of Lord Molyneux) was desperately wounded in directing the passage of the infantry through the Trent, at the same attack. See inscription on Tyldesley's monument, and Collins' *Baronetage*, i. 103.

### *Perfect Diurnall*, May 1-8 (Cooke and Wood.)

May 4.—Out of Manchester it is informed that the *Manchesterians* do keepe the townes of *Wiggin* and *Preston* without any disturbance, and that the Earl of *Derby* doth still hold *Warrington*, and that since Sir *John Seatons* coming out of that county there hath been little action on either side.

### *Kingdoms Weekly Intelligencer*, 9-16 May, p. 146.

An account of the interception by Fairfax of a letter from sixe Scottish Earles to Her Majestie, written from *Latham* (the Earle of *Derbies* house) the last of April, signifying unto Her Majestye with much earnestnesse, that if she did not send some ayde, at least three thousand horse and foot within sixe dayes, the Earle of *Derbie* could hold out no longer, but must be enforced to desert the countrey. That they came thither in pursuance of her instructions, and after they should come into Scotland would attend her Majestie in theire returne at Yorke.

P. 147.—The Countesse of *Derby* herself writ a dolefull letter to Her Majestie, begging the like speedy ayde, or all was lost; and least neither of these letters should prevaile with her for aide and assistance, she addressed her to Master Jermane to intercede for her with the Queene, to send the sayde forces to the ayde of the Earle of *Derby*.

These letters being made knowne by my Lord *Fairfax* to the *Lancashire* Gentlemen, whereby the necessities of the Papists in that County appeared to be such, that they immediately advanced, have taken *Preston*, and fetched away the twentie peeces of ordnance from *Lancaster*, and enforced the Earle of *Derby* to quit the countrey, and flye from *Hornby Castle* into *Yorkshire*, into *Skipton Castle* in *Craven*.

### *Continuation of certain Speciall and Remarkable Passages*, &c. No. 45, 11-18 May.

A notice of the before-mentioned letters and movements; of a part of the Earl of *Derby*'s forces still holding *Warrington*, "which place they have very strongly fortified, and brought thither a great part of their goods, plate, &c. And the Manchester men are marched against that town with strong forces, both horse and foote, and with six pieces of ordnance, so that it is thought within few days that we shall heare that they have taken the said town also, which in doing they will settle the whole county in peace."

## *May* 27.—SURRENDER OF WARRINGTON, AND SUMMONS OF LATHOM BY COL. HOLLAND, GOVERNOR OF MANCHESTER.

See *Siege of Lathom*, where the surrender of Warrington is stated to have been made by the governor, Col. Norris, in consequence of the surprise (by Fairfax) of the Lord Goring at Wakefield (May 21), and after a siege of only five days.

*Perfect Diurnall* (Cooke's successors) No. 51, 29 May—June 5.

*Sat. June* 3.—" But from *Lancashire* by letters this day and the day before it was confirmed that the *Manchester* forces have fully gained *Warrington* in that county, being the last hold that the Papists had there, and that now the whole county is purged from their evill members, and that they all stand firm for Kinge and Parliament, and have secured the chief townes and places which the enemy either had, or were in any danger of. What prize they have got in the taking of Warrington is not yet enformed, but it must needs be of considerable worth. Some reports they took there 14 peece of ordnance, 1100 prisoners, and great store of armes."—See more particulars in Vicars' *Parl. Chron.* part i. 341.

*Burghall's MS. Diary* (Providence Improved) p. 117. Coles' MSS. Brit. Mus.

" At this time Coll. *Brereton* and all his horse were at *Stafford*, from whence they returned to *Nantwich*, and some considerable forces out of *Cheshire* marched forth to meet the forces of *Manchester* at *Warrington*, which happened to be on Whitsunday, May 21.

" On Mayday morning they planted their ordnances, and beset the town round about, played upon it all that week, it being strongly fortified, and the souldiers behaving themselves very bravely, but bread and other necessaries being scarce, on Saturday they came to a parley, when it was agreed that the town should be rendered up, and that Captains and Commanders should depart with every man his horse and pistols, and all the souldiers to pack away unarmed, and leave all their arms, ammunition, and provisions behind them, which was done accordingly.

" On Trinity Sunday, Sir *Geo. Booth*[1] being lord of the town, entered it, and was joyfully entertained by the inhabitants. There were slain on the Parliament side only four, and two of the town; wherein the mercy of God appeared."

In *Mercurius Aulicus* (June 25, p. 333) is mention of the cannon from Warrington being immediately sent against Halton Castle in Cheshire, then defended against the Parliament by Captain Walter Primrose, appointed by Earl Rivers to that service.

## GENERAL PRESENTATION OF LANCASHIRE RECUSANTS.

*Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer*, 23-30 May, p. 165.

" Another thing observable in the generall is, that in *Lancashire* and *Yorkshire* there are more Papists than in all England besides, for in one Hundred in *Lanca-*

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[1] The elder Sir George Booth, grandfather of the first Lord Delamere, manerial Lord of Warrington, and in his seventy-seventh year.—*Hist. Chesh.* i. 402.

*shire*, since this Parliament began, there were 15,000 Papists presented at one Sessions, and many thousands of them convicted presently after, and yet God hath shewed his power more in a handfull of men against these numerous and potent enemies of the Gospel, and growth of the Protestant Religion, then in any part else in *Lancashire*, in a manner quite routed them out."—See much more on this subject, in Vicars' *Parl. Chron.* part i. p. 343.

## XXXIV.

*Exceeding Joyfull News out of Lancashire, Nottinghamshire, and Lincolnshire, or an Extract of certain letters from thence, being a True Relation of the Parliament Forces taking the Townes of Warrington and Whitchurch, with the names of the chief Commanders on both sides: the number of men that were slain, and the Ordnance, Armes, Ammunition and prisoners that were taken. The clearing Lancashire of the King's forces, with the manner of the besieging of Newark by the Nottingham and Lincolnshire forces, and what hath been done there since the siege and the probabilitie of taking the said Towne.*

London, printed for *Robert Wood*, 1643.[1]

### Exceeding Joyfull Newes out of Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire, &c.

The wonderfull good successe of the well-affected persons of

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[1] The editor has been unable to meet with a *printed* copy of this Tract, either in the Royal or Chetham Collection, or in the libraries of any of his friends or correspondents. A copy, however, occurred in the catalogue of the late collection of Mr. Thomas Heywood, and he is much indebted to Mr. Baines (author of the *History of Lancashire*) for the use of a *transcript* of that copy, from which Mr. B. made some quotations in his valuable work, vol. iv. p. 76.

Whether the statements are correct or otherwise, the Tract is of no small interest, this county is fit to be communicated to the Kingdome; for it is notoriously knowne that at the beginning of these distractions, such was the potency of the Papist, and their adherents in that County, that the well-affected people to the Parliament were but a handfull in respect of the rest that took up Armes against the Parliament, which for the most part consisted of the *Manchester forces,* who stood upon their own guard and were strongly assaulted by the enemy.

And had not that Town stood very firmly for the King and Parliament, in all probabilitie the whole County had been brought into subjection to the oppression and violence of the Cavaliers, but they standing firm and constant to the cause which they had undertaken, it hath pleased God to give them many great and miraculous victories over his and their enemies, insomuch that they forced the Earle of *Derby,* who was the chief stirrer and maintainer of the combustions in that county, (being a Gentleman of great estate and potency there) to flie out of the County above a moneth since, and to get to York, to the Queen, for shelter; after whose flight, the papists and those that adhere unto them, betooke themselves to a towne called *Warrington,* and another towne called *Whitchurch,* which places were both very strongly fortified both with Men, Ammunition, Powder, and Ordnance.

Whereupon the *Manchester* forces besieged the said townes, and

from its reference to the first Parliamentary occupation of Liverpool. It is necessary to read As*h*ton for Aston; and as *Warwick* was *Admiral for the Parliament,* to make an amendment, by reading *Manchester* instead of "Earle of Derby," as object of *his aide.*

The reader must, however, be referred to the *Valley of Achor* following, for a statement respecting Warwick's ship, and the fact of "*Liverpool readily giving entertainment to it and to us*" (namely, the *Parliamentarians*), taking no notice of the conflicts alleged in the Tract. The article mentioned with respect to Wigan is also observable, as it is extraordinary that a town covering Lathom, and commanding the centre of South Lancashire, which had been twice taken by Manchester forces, and was in the possession of Parliament in a carefully dismantled state, should be selected by Ashton as the place to send Col. Tyldesley and his Royalists to, *with ordnance, arms, and ammunition.*

The time when Liverpool passed into the hands of the Manchester forces, however, (in whatsoever manner) would be the last week of May, or beginning of June 1643.

after about ten dayes siege, the enemy quitted themselves of part of the towne of *Warrington,* together with the Church: for that they conceived, that in leaving thereof, they should the more advantage themselves, thinking that the *Manchester* forces would not in a few dayes scale their workes, and enter into those places which they had left.

About which time one of the ships, under the command of the Earl of *Warwicke,* strooke into the Harbour called *Leverpoole,* into the River of *Merse,* which commeth to the said towne, and put the enemy into a great feare; and although the ship came in, rather by accident than with any intent to aide[1] the Earle of *Derbie's* forces; yet within two dayes after, the *Manchester* men having gotten the great street, and planted their Ordnance on the Church which commanded the towne, the Popish forces sent to desire a parley with Colonell *Aston,* which was Commander in chiefe of the *Manchester* forces, upon which, Hostages were delivered on both sides, and propositions made to Colonell *Aston* by Colonel *Tillesley* to this effect, viz.

I. That the forces in the towne should surrender up the same to Colonell *Aston* for the use of the King and Parliament upon Quarter.

II. That they should carry away with them their Ordnance, Armes, and Ammunition, and so march away with bag and baggage.

III. That without pursuit or interruption of the Parliaments forces, they should march to Wiggin or some other place in that County, without molestation.

Which proposition not being consented unto, *Colonell Ashton* made another assault against the enemy, slew many of them, and put them into such confusion, that as many of them as could, fled away for safety, and the rest were forced to yield themselves prisoners. There were in the towne about Sixteene hundred horse and foote, of which about three hundred were taken prisoners:

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[1] See note preceding.

and those that escaped were forced to leave their Armes behind them, and ten good pieces of Ordnance, besides all their bag and baggage. It is reported that from the beginning of the Siege, *Colonell Ashton* lost but seven men, and that there were slaine of the enemies forces (as it is reported by the inhabitants of the towne) at least 80 persons, many of them being of good quality.

It is certainly informed by persons of repute, that *Whitchurch* is also taken by the Parliaments forces, where they had good store of Armes and Ammunition, and some prisoners, that it hath pleased God to cleere this County for the present of the Enemy, who are fled northwards; and if other Counties would follow their example there is no doubte but they would soone find the like experience of God's blessings upon their endeavours for the blessing of a fair peace throughout the Kingdome, and the uniting themselves together to stande for their just rights &c., and the maintenance of true Religion, which is the onely thing for the honour and safety of his Majesty, which the Parliament in all their proceedings doe labour after and by all meanes lawfull seeke to maintaine, and is the onely way to procure a happy peace and welfare of this Kingdom. And although mens eyes have been long blinded, which cannot but in all sense be the chief cause that the Kingdome is so much divided, that notwithstanding they cannot be ignorant that *forraigne forces* contrary to severall Declarations and Protestations have been invited into this land, and many already come over to ayde and assist the Popish faction in *England*, yet now hearing that the Rebells in *Ireland* are sent for to come to ayde the Kings forces in *England*, as it is most certaine they are, it thereby most evidently appearing that the *Rebellion in Ireland*, and the raising the Papists in *England* against the Parliament to be one and the same cause, there are none that are not as blind as Balam, that could not see when he was ready to be distroyed, that will stand any longer as Newters, and desert the cause, and will not endeavour by all possible meanes, both with their lives and fortunes, to defend the truth, and deliver themselves and posterity from miseries that otherwise are like to fall upon them.

It is certified for a truth that the *Nottingham*, *Derby*, and *Lincolnshire* forces are joyned together in a body and have beseeged the Towne of *Newarke* upon *Trent*.

⁂ The rest of the Tract relates to the commencement of this Siege.

## Reduction of Hornby and Thurland Castles by Ashton.

*Certaine Informations*, No. 23, p. 181, 1643.

*Wednesday*, June 21. "From *Manchester* in Lancashire they wrote that Col. *Ashton* hath taken two castles in the north part of that county, the name of the one being *Hornby Castle*, and of the other *Thurland Castle*, where he hath taken Sir *John Girlington*, a strong malevolent in those parts, and also much money and plate, with many disaffected ladies and gentlewomen who were fled for shelter into those Castles, and that he is not yet returned to *Manchester*, because he intendeth to free all the suspected places of that county from all the Earle of *Derbies* open favourers and adherents."

See the account of this in the *Valley of Achor*, closing the series of events there narrated, and, *as the author of that Tract seemed to imagine*, the civil contest in Lancashire.

# LANCASHIRES
## Valley of *ACHOR*,
IS
## Englands *Doore of Hope:*

Set wide open, in a brief History, of the Wise
Good, and Powerfull hand of Divine Providence, Ordering and Managing the
*Militia* of *Lancashire;*

Not onely to the Preservation, but Exaltation of a Poor, and
Praying people, in two *Hundreds;* Against, and above a
considerable Armie, of Popish, and ill affected
persons in foure *Hundreds.*

Wherein the strift of Piety and Providence, with impiety and humane
strength, in the weaknesse of means, unto graduail, and compleate
Victory is laid out; to advance GODS praise, and
advantage *England's* Faith.

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*By a well wisher to the Peace of the Land, and Piety of the Church.*

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Isa. 8. 9. 10. *Associate yourselves, O ye people, and ye shall be broken in pieces, gird yourselves, and ye shall be broken in pieces, gird yourselves and ye shall be broken in pieces. Take councell together, and it shall come to nought, speak the word and it shall not stand for God is with us.*

Psal. 46. 7. 11. *The Lord of hosts is with us, the God of Iacob is our refuge. Selah. The Lord of Hosts is with us, the God of Iacob is our refuge. Selah.*

Jer. 30. 16. 17. *Therefore all they that devoure thee shall be devoured, and all thine adversaries, every one of them shall go into captivity, and they that spoil thee shall be a spoil, and all that prey upon thee will I give for a prey. For I will restore health unto thee, and I will heal thee of thy wounds saith the Lord, because they called thee an Outcast, saying, This is Zion, whom no man seeketh after.*

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LONDON:
Printed for *Luke Fawne,* and are to be sold at his Shop in
*Pauls* Church yard, at the signe of the Parrot. 1643.

# Chapter V.

## LANCASHIRE'S VALLEY OF ACHOR.

Copies of the following Tract, which is of great rarity, exist in the King's Collection (Brit. Mus.), in the Chetham Library, and in the Editor's Collection, from which last this is reprinted. MS. transcripts occasionally occur, with variations and additions, which have sometimes been quoted as parts of the original work.

The object of the author of the tract was to give a connected series of events occurring during the period to which the four preceding chapters of this collection relate, mingled with religious reflections in the style of the Puritans; and he seems to have expected that the struggle would end with the reduction of the Castles of Thurland and Hornby, with which his work concludes. His narrative will be found to include several events unnoticed in other Tracts, or only to be traced in them by diligent search, as for instance the second assault of Bolton, the abandonment of Lancaster Castle by Birch, and its reoccupation by the Parliament,—the siege of the same by Derby's troops in 1643, and its relief by Col. Ashton.

In Barnet's *God's Lift-up Hand for Lancashire* (quoted in p. 88), will be found several literal transcripts from this work; as, for instance, respecting the successive appearances of "God's Banner" in the Hundreds of Salford and Blackburn, which occurs in this Tract at the end of the account of Manchester Siege; the notice of the stranding of the Dunkirk ship laden with ordnance on the Lancashire coast; and the allusion to the comparative effects of the Royalist and Parliamentary cannon at the siege of Manchester, in the "fourth Temptation" and "Issue."

The last citation is the more worthy of notice, as Barnet expressly terms it a remark of Mr. Angier, by which observation, on account of the early date of the Tract, 1643, he can scarcely be supposed to intend any other member of this family than *John Angier*, one of the Committee of Presbyterian Ordination, and minister of Denton. Perhaps he may only intend so to refer the remark cited; but it appears that the author, whoever he may have been, was of the clerical profession, from the expressions used in the prefatory Epistle.

The Editor believes that no *precise* information can be obtained on this point. The work has been assigned to Angier by two authors, well versed in the subject: and, on the other hand, he is assured by a writer intimately conversant with the history and literature of this period,—the Rev. Joseph Hunter,—that not only is there an *absence of the slightest allusion to such authorship*, in the *Life of Angier, by his son-in-law, Oliver Heywood*, but that there is nothing to the purpose in any of *Heywood's MS. Remains*, that have fallen under his biographer's notice.

## THE EPISTLE TO THE READER.

Good Reader.

Thou hast a willing (though weake) discoverie of Gods footsteps in *Lancashire* according to best information. Some Ornaments of the History were laid aside for reserved *Reasons.* God's praise and thy profit were specially intended. Pray that the means may be assisted to these ends, so shalt thou ingage to adde, or alter upon information, what may honour God, and helpe thee. I have performed what was proper to mine own profession, leaving the Souldier's part, wherein men and things were notable, to the Souldiers performance.

# LANCASHIRES
# HOURE OF SAD TEMPTATION
# AND
# JOYFULL ISSUE.

Gods eternall counsells about his Church are in time turned into Promises, Promises into Prayers, Prayers into Providences, and Providences into Praises. Providence is the glasse of Gods Attributes, and Promises of the Saints grace, Graces and Prayers: It is the wealth and wages of time present, the treasure and incouragement of time future. The recording of providences is not the least portion of Gods praise of our duty, of posterities patrimony.

The free, full, and joynt trading of spirituall Merchants, in the precious commodity of Prayers in these last yeers (wherein sin in the enemies and grace in the Saints strove for victory) was sure to bring in with returns. Is it not even so? Let *Scotland* speak, *England*, the City, the Parliament. And can *Lancashire* say nothing? I am charged to bring in this testimony, which I shall do (God shining upon my way) orderly and clearly, according to best information.

The wise God (resolved to raise a double glorious work in this forlorne Countrie of ruine to the evil, and of rest to the good) forelaid a double foundation, of sin in the enemy, and humiliation in his people. That was a *Series* of injustice, with the effects and attendants: This a course of repentance in publike Fasting and Prayer; both held paralell, from first to last.

The much-to-be-lamented Lord *Strange* (not of his native disposition) as is hoped (if the height of the Sail did not overtop the Ship) but through the force of evil Councells (the common calamity of great personages) was carried down those strong streams of Arbitrary government, and advance of Popery. Witnesse his Taxations as *Lord-Lieutenant*, his Popish officers, his injurious intermeddling in the election of Knights &c.[1] The injured, petition the then exact and dreadfull Court of justice, inforce their Petition by Declaration. The wisdom of that just Court (at once to expresse their disrellish of these doings, but hopes of that noble person notwithstanding) do substract the power of *Lancashire*, and cast in the power of *Cheshire*.[2] But correction is grievous to him that forsaketh the way. When just and moderate sentence proves the food of corruption, it gathers sudden and great strength. He that formerly withdrew his influence from the County now denies it to the Kingdom, leaves the House of *Lords*, breaks that honourable Union, increaseth the Dissention, joyns with the *North* against the *South*, receives Commission from the *King* to crosse the *Parliament*, seeketh to subject and inslave them, (the best amends the oppressed must expect if strength prevail) who had given no cause, save onely they complained, they were wronged, and sought redresse. The spirit of the Commission will not suffer it to rest: There must be a generall *Muster* at *Preston,* the people must be thrust into a crowd, that they who desire, might securely rob them of their *Magazin,* reposed (as their proper goods) in *Liver-pool, Preston, Warrington.* Herein the *Lord* himself, the Sheriff, the Commissioners, had and acted their severall parts with successe,[1] little imagining that so close a businesse should be told in *Manchester.* But *Jobs* messenger escapes to bring tidings though but sad. Now a Ray of divine Providence brake forth in the wise and peaceable way of securing *Manchester Magazine*;[2] which was this; the well-affected in *Manchester* and thereabouts, appear in the following Petition to the *Committee* and *Deputy-Lieutenants.*

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[1] See the Lancashire Petition, p. 5.

[2] Alluding to Sir Edw. Fitton, Mr. Leigh of Adlington, &c. See p. 17, and *Siege of Manchester*, p. 51.

To the Right Worshipfull, they of the Committee, and the rest Deputy-Lieutenants, entrusted by the Honourable Houses of Parliament, for the *Militia* of the County Palatine of *Lancaster.*

*Wee whose hands are hereto subscribed, apprehending eminent and imminent danger concerning the Magazine here in* Manchester, *do humbly beseech your Worships to give command (if in your judgements you think fit) that the same may be removed from the present place of fear, and placed where you may confide. And upon intimation thereof, we are all unanimously concluded to be ayding and assisting in the execution thereof; we humbly conceiving our proper interests to be in it, not onely as subjects, but also as having born our proportionable parts of charge in procuring the same. And we shall ever pray, &c.*

This preventing Petition found this satisfying answer:

*Whereas there have been heretofore divers great Leavies of Moneys laid upon this County of* Lancaster *by the Lord* Strange, *late Lord-Lieutenant of the said County and his Deputy-Lieutenants; for their manner of disposing of which they have been pleased to give an account unto us, and have repayed severall sums of money in some parts of this County acknowledged by the account to be in their hands then undis-*

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[1] *Lamentable and Sad News,* &c. p. 13. *Letters from the Committees,* p. 15.

*posed of, and by their said account did aver, They had bestowed* 440 *pounds in Powder, Match and the like Ammunition, which they delivered up in severall Towns of this County, in other part of repayment of the said moneys so leavied by them. And whereas the Sheriff of this County and some others have lately seized, into their hands and possession the said Powder, Match and Ammunition in the Towns of* Preston *and* Leverpoole, *and have threatned and attempted to do the like in* Manchester, *without giving any account either by what Authority, or for what use, they did and do the same: We therefore tendering our own interest, and possession of this small remainder left at* Manchester, *have thought good to take it into our hands for the defence of the King, both Houses of Parliament, and this County of* Lancaster.

Thus wisdom and honesty, in a way of manifest authoritie, got the leading of subtiltie and injustice; the Snare at last is broken and a Seed of defence happily sowne. But if *Manchester* will not be cheated of their *Magazine*, they shall be forcibly despoiled; Forces are summoned to *Bury* for that end, but the confluence of the well-affected to *Manchester* for defence did them the favour of dismission for that time: And lest this businesse should appear in its own colours it is coloured over by a meeting of the *Array* at *Wigan;* the sleeping *Magazen* is adjudged to travell part to *Bury*, part to *Ratchdale* and part to lie in *Manchester*, upon an order from the King, published at *Manchester* Crosse to that purpose: Under this new colour the Lord *Strange* returns with his forces to *Bury*, calls a second Muster; some of the Towne of *Manchester*, and thereabouts (more forward in this than forecited) attend his Honour,[1] think to make all well by ingaging themselves to buy so much Powder, and lay it in the empty place, and to sweeten and sink all former bitter and clogging passages, they invite him to a Banquet, upon condition that he come peacably with his own attendance:[2] they unhappily forgetting or not considering, that it was not a little Powder that was sought, or the submission of a few fearfull men, but a Town, and not a Town onely, but a County, nor that onely but the honourable rule and government of it; things out of the reach of their arm, but hopefully within the compasse of his own power. According to this desire, (not according to the condition) was the march for *Manchester* ordered; his Honour came attended with many Horse, they entred the Towne in an Hostile and insulting manner with cocked Pistols, and shouts, that the town was their own, their own. The Sheriffe reade the Commission of *Array* which evidenced a composition for War, not for Peace. Some wise and well-affected, (foreseeing what others did not beleeve, till they sadly saw) had laid in some Musquetteers and Pikemen against such a time, resolving to lie hid, if not forced out of peace. But the unconditioned carriage of these incomers beats the Drum, to bring our men in sight, onely to put them in remembrance of the conditions agreed on: They will not remember, but forcibly ride upon our men, give them course language, strive to disarm them, sorely wound one and cruelly slay another; and had not God mercifully sent water from heaven to quench this fire, and moved them to be the Peace-keepers, which were not the peace-concluders, they that have since sought our blood, had themselves been satisfied with blood. But blessed be God that heaven and earth did concurre to quiet this dangerous commotion. Let *Manchester* and the neighbourhood never forget how their hands were blest from blood, whilst the hands of those that strove with them were imbrued therein. By this time the *Array* had gotten enough done; the unappeasable crie of blood is against them, seconded by the bitter crie of some truly pious in the town, who were in extreme danger to be pulled in pieces, they and their houses, by the part taking and incensed Rascalitie, the admirers and adorers of greatnesse, being feasted with the Crummes that fall from their Tables.

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[1] *News from Manchester*, p. 30.

[2] Ibidem, and "a verie true and credible narration," p. 31.

God fore appointing the hour of temptation and resolving in a course of ordinary (though to us unusual) means, to shew us his salvation, sent a man before, a skillful and faithfull *Engineer*, to be ready to concur with our necessitie, and desire, to take course for our own defence, which now will admit neither dispute nor delay.

This prepared and provided instrument is entertained, fals to artificiall and restlesse motion, till the mud-wals at the severall passages were finished, when God gave an alarum from the plundering disarming array in *Cheshire*, *Sept.* 13,[1] being *Tuesday*, to heighten the spirits of the well-affected in the Town, above the opposition of the male-content, that the opposed stoopes might be set down, and the chaines coupling the works compleated, he well knowing they had almost as much work to do as time to do it in. All this time that God was contriving our preservation in a way of probable meanes, *Satan* in a contrary course was plotting our subjection or desolation, and when the door of our defence was once shut, not before (oh the waking watchfull providence of God!), but presently after the floodgates of our opposition were opened; for it was about *Friday* night, *Sept.* 23, ere the Works were finished, and the Lord appeared on *Sabbath* day morning, and it was *Friday* night, if not *Saturday* night, ere the defendants were anchored against windes and waves. Thus are we come to *Manchester* Seige, of which I will not give a full and particular account, because it is already performed by severall good hands; onely observe three things;

1. The time in which it fell out.
2. The severall temptations in it with their Issues.
8. And some remarkable Passages.

The time when it began was *September* the five and twentieth, the Sabbath day, about nine of the clock, church-time. God was forced, as sometimes *Paul*, *Galath*. 4. 20. to change his voice to awaken and enliven his sleepie and dead-hearted people. Sabbath-dayes Alarums, of all Alarums, are never to be forgotten. Severall Battels have been fought, and several Assaults made in severall places on the Sabbath-day; let *England* study the meaning: Our Saviour tels us there is an affliction in the time, *Mat.* xxiv. 20. Pray that your flight be not on the *Sabbath day*. God hath a controversie with the people for their Sabbath dayes services. Yet observe the breath of the enemie.

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[1] The details of the siege occupy from p. 42 to p. 60.

*Saul* breathed threatnings and slaughter against the Disciples of the Lord: The enemies mocked at their Sabbaths: Their breath blasteth holy persons, times, actions. The *Episcopall* breath, fetch him out of the Pulpit, scatters the people; suspend him, suspend the place.

This Seige-week was unskilfully joyn'd with the Nationall Fast-week; for thus succours came into *Manchester* from all parts of the Kingdom, Armies of Prayers, Legions of Angels. The enemies Lot so warily cast, fell not unlike to *Haman's* Lot, *Esther* 9. 1. The enemies of the *Jewes* hoped to have power over them, but it was turned to the contrary that the *Jewes* had rule over them that hated them.

The several Temptations that straightened this Siege, with their present and proper Issues were,

### *The Temptation.*

1. The unskilfulnesse of Commanders and Souldiers, being bred and educated in a land of peace, where no enemy was left (as sometimes in Israel) to teach them warre. They knew not how to take advantage, or prevent disadvantage: they were fit to hurt themselves, and one another as they did. And that very day the enemy appeared, hearts were down, because their number to man their works was no greater.

### *The Issue.*

But when God put the work into their hands, he put in skill, *Psal.* 144. 1. If ever it were given a people in that houre how to do, both hands and skill, now was the time. So that in a short time (even to admiration) men of all callings were skilfull ready Firemen. And on that five and twentieth of *September* came in new and considerable Forces: whereupon the souldiers thanked God and took courage.

### *The Temptation.*

2. What the enemy cannot do by force he will do by fraud, he sets fire on poor houses and rich barnes (any thing to advance the Catholique Cause) hoping by the light of the fire and darknesse of the smoke, to see to hit, and to be hid from shot. Fire is a cruell Lord, and dreadfull object to fresh and low-water souldiers. The winde blowes right to help the enemy to heat and blinde the assaulted. And now fire to fire: a fierce assault, to a flaming fire, will destroy all opposition.

### *The Issue.*

Faith, that sometimes quenched the violence of fire did no lesse now. It quenched the violence of feare in our souldiers, the zeale of the Work consumed them, whilest the fire consumed the buildings. And though the fire heated our men to strive for the Wall, and to give the more ready fire, yet the smoke did not hide their enemies. And when the winde had blowne so long against us that we might be sensible of a Turn, he that gathereth the winde in his fists apparently turned it to our advantage.

### *The Temptation.*

3. They had a Towne of advantage. *Salford* is open, affords them entertainment and assistance, proves their stalking horse, brings them neere, and gives them shelter; faceth us and opens them a back-door. God complains of his evil neighbours, *Jer.* 12. 14.

### *The Issue.*

They sought help by fire; God helped us by water. The rain poured down, raised the water, and parted the Army, neerer neighbours then *Manchester* and *Salford*. *They fought from heaven, the Stars in their courses fought against Sisera. The river Kishon swept them away*, *the ancient river*, *the river Kishon*, Judges 5. 20, 21. Hither they came to lay their dead in sight, and to let them lie with shame. The Cannoneer had much adoe to Charge, and more adoe to Discharge. If they peeped out of the houses they were unhoused.

### *The Temptation.*

4. They had meanes of advantage, many roaring, thundering terrifying, Canons, we had but one small Peece.[1] We have heard the report of them, and our hands waxed feeble.

### *The Issue.*

The Canons did but play,[1] they did no work, no execution. They had no Commission but to strike thorow houses which could neither bleed nor weepe: onely one Lad stood in their way, which was out of his own way, and (as they say) timely prepared by his wickednesse for such a stroke. It was a wonder to see when they came into an house what haste they made out, as afraid there to stay: and how strictly they kept their Lane, lest by turning aside, they should harme any in the house. Surely the joynt praises of God's rejoycing people; *as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of a great thunder*, *Rev.* 14. 2, did drowne the noise, and remove the terrour of the Canons.

### *The Temptation.*

5. Though the enemies' fire was quenched, and the force of their Canons broken, yet we wanted Fewell, Match failed, and Powder grew scarce.

### *The Issue.*

He that could finde so many Souldiers when there was none was not to seeke for one Match-maker in time of need. He findes a common Souldier, and makes him to finde Match.

*Some Malignants houses contributed powder, and some marched to* Manchester *from neighbour places, in the face of the enemy who looked and fled: and againe looked and fled*: they saw it and so they marvelled, they were troubled and hasted away, fear took hold upon them there, *Psal.* 48. 5, 6.

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[1] See the remarks respecting a quotation of these passages in Barnet's *God's Lift-up Hand for Lancashire*, who ascribes the last of them to Angier, of Denton, p 89.

*The Temptation.*

6. Though we be supplied with Match and Powder, yet we shall be overcome with waking, we want rest, and cannot finde it.

*The Issue.*

God gives his beloved rest. To that end he moves the Lord to sound for a parley. Upon which a Cessation of Armes is concluded from five at Night till seven in the Morning, that our men might rest and be refreshed. And ere this release came, God (that can nourish without meat) gave rest without sleep. He held their eyes open and created new spirits; they waked and watched from strength to strength. *They that wait upon the Lord shall change their strength,* as a man doth his suit to fit a new occasion, *Isa.* 40. 31.

*The Temptation.*

7. This new bodily rest may serve to strengthen a restlesse mind. It is now harvest time, our Corn, the livelyhood and subsistence of our familie, is in the field ripe and groaning for the sickle.

*The Issue.*

Whilest the Seige lasted against *Manchester,* the heavens held a sympathy with the well-affected in and about *Manchester:* God melted them into a wet and weeping frame. There was little harvest weather that week: Which did evidence the work of God's people did not now lie in the Field, but in the Town in the Barn. It was not reaping work, but threshing work: God's work was to Inne the Corn, their work to Thresh it: *He shall gather them as the sheaves into the floor: arise and thresh,* Micah 4. 12, 13.

*The Temptation.*

8. We are defending the Town, and the Cavalliers are Plundering our houses, or at least we leave wife, children, and estate to their mercy. What portion have we in *Manchester.* Every man to his tent.

### *The Issue.*

O peace, private spirit. The people in *Nehemiah's* time had a minde to work, *Nehem.* 4. 6, a strong minde; and therefore the discouragements of the ill-affected could not weaken their hands. *Manchester* work was publique work; and the spirits of the work did generally rest upon the people: sometimes Foot, sometimes Horse issued out and drove in the Plunderers. Sometimes the Countrey Spirit, guarded with Bills, and Staves, and pick-forks, rose to that height that it subjected horse and man, to the wonder of the Cavaliers. Some houses were safe, others willing to suffer the lesse, to save the greater.

### *The Temptation.*

9. Some sensible of the danger of neighbour Villages that had emptied all their defensive power into *Manchester*, made motion that their lent assistance might be loosed for home and neighbour defence against the wilde and wandering horse. This motion seemed reasonable, and by consequence the defence of the Town unreasonable.

### *The Issue.*

When this reason came to be handled, it proved a shadow and soon vanished. Neare home this motion felt heavy, but abroad, where greater matters were in hand, it was found light. Private and particular interests are wrapped up in the Publique, not so much publique, in private. Heere the remembrance of Parliamentary engagement, and an honourable esteem of the Publique Faith did no little availe.

### *The Temptation.*

10. But after all, there is an uncertaine blast of the spirit of Faith and Courage in our Leaders being in the infancie of the Work; and not discerning (as afterwards) that God had raised them up to be Saviours on Mount *Zion*. This was *Davids* sin, when he had escaped so many dangers, and was now out of pursuit, (for *Saul* sought no more after him, 1. *Sam.* 27. 4.) yet he

could not beleeve his safetie, but feared, (though he had long escaped, yet) he should at last be taken. 1 Sam. 27. 1. We may sooner be free from trouble then beleeve we are free, troubles may come and go, but sin will stick fast.

### *The Issue.*

God kept up the Souldiering spirit, by Prayers, and Psalms, mutuall encouragement, and the blast of the Silver Trumpets (the Ministers of God) sounded by a Divine breath when the Temptation was at highest, and their spirits at the lowest, that very night something should have been done by man, to have undone in a few houres all that God had been doing in a week (that man might be humbled, and God the more magnified) the tide of our oppression turned. They moved homewards, both sides were in despaire, we would have manifested ours, but God hid it. They hid theirs in the Night but the Morning brought it to light.

### The remarkable passages were these.

A Reverend and grave Divine, who had long been a blessing to the Town, and had seen a resurrection of it from the Plague nigh fourty yeers before, was lifted up from the gates of death, and raised in Spirit to promote this Work.[1]

A spirit of Piety and Devotion in Prayers and singing of Psalms rested generally upon Persons and families, yea Taverns and Innes where it might not put in the head formerly. As when *David* in his trouble went and dwelt with *Samuel* at *Najoth* in *Ramah*, the Spirit of Prophecie came upon *Sauls* Messengers, the first, second, and third time, and upon *Saul* himself. *Davids* Spirit rested upon his enemies when God will have him to rest. They say, the Parliament hath made many converts; but here Papists and Atheists and prophane made many Converts no better yet then Parliament Converts. Many of them have proved practicall Arminians practising falling from Grace; so many of our Souldiers and people have been worse since then in the Siege.

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[1] The Rev. William Bourne, B.D. Senior Fellow of the Collegiate Church, buried Aug. 26, 1643, particularly noticed in Rosworm's *Narrative*.

A Gentleman imployed in the Service[1] (not so religious as were to be wished) professed he had seen much of God, and hoped it would do him good so long as he lived: Friends told him he wanted Armour; He answered, He saw Gods protection was instead of Armour.

*September* 30, reported, That the *Cheshire* Trained-Band brought into *Stockport* under the command of Master *Leigh* of *Adlington*, had promised one another not to go over *Lancashire* Bridge. And his own Tenants Petitioned they might be excused from this Service. Twelve men the Butt of enemies before and friends behinde were Shot-free from both. The greatest hurt they did was by fire, and that to one conceived to be too good a friend of theirs. They lodged with him in a place (if report lye not) free for all manner of sin, and before their departure payed a good round reckoning in smoke and ashes, since which a cooler fire tooke downe their lodging.[2]

A neighbour in imminent danger, had eminent preservation; five of the Earls Souldiers came to the house where he was, he seeing their approach thought a chamber was fitter then the house; foure pursue him to his hiding place; three of them drew their swords, swearing to slit out his heart; the fourth having a musket resolved to do the execution; God sends up the fifth in the nick of time, who in his comming up, moved the Musquet man, and removed the mouth of the discharging Musquet to another White,[3] one of their owne company, whom God gave in ransome for this man appointed to die.

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[1] Stated in Hibbert's *History of the Coll. Ch.* i. 212, to be a Cheshire gentleman, who was at this time highly connected among the Presbyterians, but whose family were shortly afterwards zealous friends and supporters of Bishop Cartwright. See his *Diary*, edited by the Rev. J. Hunter, p. 2.

[2] (A faire house, called the Lodge.) Alport Lodge, the property of Sir Edward Mosley, where Lord Derby had one of his batteries. See pp. 42, 52.

[3] Alluding to the name of the mark in archery, formerly painted *white*.

Three neighbours returning from *Manchester* home were pursued by a Troope of Horse: one of them was taken and wounded by part of the Troope. Another part continue their pursuit of the other two; one of them casts a shoe: yet by the enemies missing the way once or twice, and casting a shoe also, and one telling them they were a mile before when the enemy was hard at their heels, they escaped, and the taken and wounded was rescued by the Bill-men. It was observed, That Christians nearer and further off were united in one argument of support; viz. That God had not mustered his precious servants, from all adjacent parts in *Manchester*, to shut them up into the hands of the enemy, but rather to shew them his salvation.

Thus we leave *Manchester*, compassed about with songs of deliverance, keeping (I beleeve) a more waking gladsome Sabbath, *October* 2, The day after their release, then of many yeeres before compassing the Throne of so great Grace with high sounding praises, with the Souldiers as they could, *October* 3, and more solemnly *October* 6, when our Drums and Muskets, that had formerly sounded terrour to our enemies, kept silence in the Church, whilst the Saints sung the Song of *Moses*, and when their time and turn came to utter their voice in the open aire, with a loud voice and one consent, clapping their hands apace they reported God fearfull in praises, working wonders.

Though the Devil let passe the Munday Thanksgiving which was more confused, yet he was ill pleased, and laboured to marre the mirth of Thursday Thanksgiving, which was intended to be more Orderly, and Solemne. An Alarm was given *October* 5, that they were coming against the Town the second time. This bred some disquiet, but served to awake unto, and to sweeten the following day of Thanksgiving, which was kept without distraction, blessed be God. This false Alarm repeated *October* 10. God advantaged to lay a Garrison in the Town, which God intended to use for offence, as well as defence, as will afterward appear.

About *October* the eleventh, some Powder coming from the South to *Manchester*, was stayed by the Kings Forces, but some came safe from the North from Hull, the fourteenth of *October*.

The two and twentieth day, store of Powder came in, and the foure and twentieth day some coming was stayed. The joy of this last supply was sadly tempered with the accidentall, but mortall, wound of a skilful and active Souldier.[1]

When God had thus gloriously appeared in *Salford-Hundred*, the first and forwardest *Hundred*, he went and displayed his banner in *Blackburne-Hundred*, that onely other *Hundred* in the *Countie* that appeared in the same cause.[2]

### *Blackburne-Hundred.*

About *November* the seven and twentieth, the Array, with some three hundred armed men (as is conceived) besides Clubmen, possessed themselves of *Blackburne*, whence they sent a party to disarme *Whalley*. This alarm awaked the *Militia* to awake the people by precept. They being awaked, were soone up and marched toward *Blackburne* about two hundred armed men, some companies of Clubmen, and some Horsemen, but without Arms. The want of skill in Souldiers and skilfull Captains to supply that want, caused a consultation on *Hinfield-Moore*, which received Determination (not from the Discoverie of hidden skill but from the resolute will of these stirring Souldiers) to dispossesse those forcible Tenants. They speed on with shouting, dividing themselves unto the conduct of two chosen Captains, and come within sight of the Town about eight of the clock, when the Queen of the night, that had shined upon their March, did discover them to their enemies: who soon let flie from the Steeple, which ordered one Captain and his companie to the South side of the Town, and the other Captain with his company to the East end of the Town, where they found (though not so high, yet,) as hot entertainment out of the Town for the space of two houres. But God that varieth his providence according to his peoples occasions, and had maintained the passages of *Manchester*, (that a rightfull people might not be wronged) did now open a difficult passage to let in his friends, from whom the Array hasted, having disburdened themselves of their Arms, and restored what they took from *Whalley*. Now had God added an experience of favourable providence, in a new kinde, formerly in a way of defence, now in a way of offence, declaring his all-sufficiencie and compleatnesse for Warre, to those two united *Hundreds*, giving a Shield to *Manchester* and a Sword to *Blackburne*, hereby assuring them from heaven, that if they would cleave together and be mutually assistant in his Cause, they should be variously, but suitably and compleatly assisted and saved, he would be their all-sufficient God, their God indeed, and to purpose.

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[1] The son of Mr. Edw. Byrom. *Hibbert*, i. p. 215. Respecting the gunpowder stayed, see p. 59.

[2] This passage is cited in Barnet's sermon before mentioned. See p. 89.

By this time the Most High had lifted us aloft, that we might through weaknesse of head, or neglect of our footing, have fallen dangerously, had not God as carefully taken us down as he lifted us up; which he did about the sixteenth of *December*. The Plundering Array issued out of *Wigan* to provoke the anger, and stirre up the courage of the neighbourhood, who to maintain their Protestation in their own defence resolved to be mutually encouraging and assistant: but apprehending themselves too weak, requested two Captains out of *Manchester* with their companies, to Quarter with them for their security; which was granted. This new strength was augmented by forces raised thereabouts. They wax bold to face *Wigan*, and come off faire. They go to Plunder a Papist's house neere Wigan. The enemy sends a party after them, and is advantaged by their securitie; But leaving their Plunder and taking to their Armes, they redeem their libertie for this time.

The enemy hath not thus done with them, he will be better provided for a second encounter; he Warrants the adjacent parts to come in to his help: Our Captains and companies go to plunder another Papist's house: the Enemy with about a thousand horse and foot makes after them (as if they had chosen to relieve their confederate Papists.) Our Forces will not flie though about eighty Musquetteers, no not from strength, though as yet a door was open, but having drawn their companies into a close of ground upon the side of *Houghton* Common.[1] They confidently conflict with the enemy, to his great losse, towards three hours, but lest they should escape, (as they were nigh to do) God fires their Magazine, and cools their courage, they sound a Parley, have quarter given them for their lives, but loose their Arms and Libertie; three Captains and eight score souldiers were shut up into the hand of the enemie, the first and fowlest blow God gave us in this kinde in the County; an humbling blow and lasting warning: To this day we halt of this blow, though most of our Captains and Souldiers be released, (blessed be God) and well it is if we carry not the marke of this wound when it is healed. Upon this sad occasion, God made a comfortable appearance that he had not saved *Manchester* to the intent they should sit still, nor had he placed a Garrison there, to make their mountain to stand strong, but that they might be ready for action at the beat of his Drum, which struck up after a reconciliation sought with him by fasting and prayer. The project was for *Leigh*,[2] our marching out (as they say) caused the Earl to retreat from his purposes and beginnings against *Bolton.* The day of assault the weeping heavens changed their chear for our encouragement, looked fair upon our enterprize, and triumphant return. The doubt of falling first upon the town or some malignant houses, the cleering of *Cho-Bent,* in the way, made it high *Christmas* Eve ere our men could fall on, (an unfortunate time for us as the Papists would judge) but it quickned resolution and speeded action. The Enemie suffered them to come within halfe Musquet shot ere they discharged, and then plaid desperately upon our men in a full Body to the present loss of onely one. Our men divided themselves, that they might clasp hands at a distance, and compass the Town, God intending to shut up the enemy into their inclosure; which done they parted again, and marching up at severall places at the call of the Drum, met at the Market place to receive from the bounty of the God they had sought, the repair of their lost Arms and the price of redemption for Captains and Souldiers: This Victory founded in humiliation was compleated in thanksgiving. It is not to be passed by what a change of *Christmas* was now made in the Countie and Kingdom, such a change in the emptinesse of great mens houses, in the places and occasions of concourse, in mirth and provision, in idlenesse and recreation, as expressed a people very sinfull, and a God very angry, to imprint both which there was much in the time if much considered.

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[1] West Houghton, nr. Hindley. See p. 63. [2] *True and Full Relation of the Troubles*, p. 64.

The like *Christmas* kept our forces at *Blackburne*;[1] the *Militia* having in the Town four hundred armed men, and some Clubmen, the *Array* came against the Towne on *Christmas* Eve with five thousand, and three field pieces, very early in the morning they shot off their pieces, with shouting, saying, Take heed, you Round-heads. God took heed for us, for we were not afraid of the noise, nor hurt once by the eight pound Bullet, though directed against us eight and twenty times. We called on them (in vaine) to come within musquet shot. About twelve a Clock they called a Parley: The pretence was if we would yielde the Town and the Arms, and submit to the Earl of *Darby*, they would mediate with him to supplicate the King to grant a Pardon. The intent was to carry their god (the greatest Field Piece) nearer the Towne, he was too farre off to doe any harme. We (Scot-like) knew not the meaning of a Pardon, professing ourselves to be for King, and Parliament. When we would no Pardon, they laboured to punish us, having set up their Idoll nearer, by the counsell (as they report) of four or five Priests and Jesuites, and other great Papists whom they had at hand in a tythe Barn: Till sun-setting both sides plaid fiercely, but then taking advantage of the darknesse, they fled in fear, and over run their great Pieces, trusting more to the night for protection than to their own courage or strength.

The seventh and eight of *February* were devoted to God in

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[1] Ibidem.

Fasting and Prayer in *Manchester*, to succeed our Forces, that were upon their march. The first day was spent and gave strength to our men to march all night, and to set upon *Preston*[1] by break of day the next morning, the second day of fasting, when some of our men soon advantaged themselves by taking of *Rible*-Bridge, and with unspeakable courage set upon the Town well fortified and manned, which God gave them in two hours as a present return of prayers. Such courage was raised in the Souldiers, that they dared to take hold of their enemies' Muskets put thorow the loop-holes, as if the miracle of mercy had been again revived, *Psalme* 91. 19. *Thou shalt tread upon the Lyon and Adder.* And when the Pikes kept them off from the mud walls, yet by breaking thorow an house some twenty entred the Towne; which small number drew down a Troop of Horse, to take a prey. But *Moses*, *Aaron*, and *Hur*, being on the top of the hill whilest *Joshua* was fighting in the valley; the Captaine of the horse was killed, and the Troop scattered. Then came up the rest of our men, killed the Major and some others, chased the enemy, and commanded the Towne. Here Divine Providence took a noble Captain off his feet before the dangerous discharge of a Bullet, he stood not to fall but fell to rise. We lost few men in this dangerous assault, took store of prisoners and armes, and came in the nick of time to relieve the well-affected in *Preston* and thereabouts, upon whom the Array were prepared to impose an Oath and heavy Taxations. This prey God plucked out of the teeth of the Lion and paw of the Bear.

### *Haughton Tower.*[1]

It was not long after, that this glorious victory was clouded by a dark and terrible blow at *Haughton Tower*, where the miscarriages of great and small in the taking of *Preston* did us more mischief than all our enemies from the entrance of our hostility to that time; as sometimes *Israel's* sin thorow *Balaam's* counsell prevailed to punish them more than Warre, or Witchcraft. Our men going down to take the Tower, and finding it prepared for entrance, possessed themselves of it, till being burdened with the weight of their swearing, drunkenesse, plundering, and wilfull waste at *Preston,* it dispossessed them by the help of Powder to which their disorders laid a Train fired by their neglected Matches, or by that great Souldiers' Idoll, *Tobacco.* However it was, sure it is, that the place so firmly united, chose rather to be torn in pieces than to harbour the possessours. O that this thundering Alarm might ever sound in the eares of our Swearing, Cursing, Drunken, Tobacco-abusing Commanders and Souldiers unto unfaigned Repentance. For do they think that those upon whom the Tower fell and slew them, were sinners above the rest of the Army. Let Christ that asked a like question, *Luke* 13. 4, 5, give the Answer: *I tell you nay, but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish; In the day when the Lord visiteth, he will visit their sins upon them. Exod.* 32. 34.

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[1] See Tildesley's *True Relation, and also the Perfect Relation of the Taking of the Town of Preston*, pp. 71, 73.

[2] *A Punctual Relation of Passages*, p. 80.

Though our Sinnes thus clouded our Sun in the cleare day, yet was not the praise of God's glorious goodnesse and power to be darkned, but to be held forth two severall dayes, to hold proportion with the time of our humiliation: which (if I mistake not) was done.

The latter day of thanksgiving was at *Manchester,* the sixteenth of *February,* the unhappy time that the Earle chose to recover his *Preston* losses, in the gaining of poore and pious *Bolton,* which would have been a back door to *Manchester.* The relation of that businesse stands thus:

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### *Bolton's first assault.*[1]

The Earle's Major Generall, with about one thousand Horse and Foot, marched toward *Bolton,* surprized their Scouts in the way, and discovered themselves to be within a mile of the Town, about nine of the clocke, little suspecting that the *Bolton* Souldiers were that while at Prayer in the Church, nor the Souldiers knowing what need they had by Prayer to prepare for Fight. Had they presently come down upon the Towne, they had taken them unprovided of Ammunition; but fetching a compasse that they might come on in a more ominous way, by *Great Leaver,* the Bishop's house, the Souldiers were furnished to resist. The assault was fierce and threatning, the Outworks outed our men to entertain the enemy, who stayed not there, but followed to the Town, fired an house near the Sentinell, wherein the winde served them to carry the smoke upon us; But God presently commanded the winde to blow from another point, to darken and smother the fire-kindlers.

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[1] Ibidem, p. 81, and *Speciall Passages,* p. 76.

Then the Enemy tooke an house that joyned to the Mud-Wall, and had Windows above it, which gave them advantage, to beat our men from the Wall, and a Stable that opened into the Street, whence they shot the Major through the Arme, and had commission to kill his Horse, but to save him. This doore they opened to enter, but God so faced and feared them by our men, that they turned their backs and shut the doore, found passage out, and place for retreat. Whilest the Fight lasted, the vapouring Horse prevented assistance, so that they compassed the people of God about; yea, *They compassed them about, but in the Name of the Lord they did destroy them.* Psal. 118. 11. Whilest Gods people at *Manchester* did sing and praise, the Lord set ambushments against their enemies at *Bolton*, and *They were smitten.* 2 Chron. 20. 21, 22. Here the Canons roared often, but still played childrens play, for they mortally bit but one lad, reported to be of their own side.

Hither their wittie malice brought a new invented mischievous Instrument, which received this description at *Bolton;* An head about a quarter of a yard long, a staffe of two yards long, or more, put into that head, twelve iron pikes round about, and one in the end to stab with.[1] This fierce Weapon (to double their scorn) they called A *Roundhead; but no weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper.* Isaiah 54. 17.

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[1] In *Mercurius Civicus* (No. 6, June 8-16, 1643) is a representation of one of these

### *Lancaster.*

The report of our taking in of *Preston* flew to *Lancaster,* and prepared the Towne and Castle for our entrance. Thither was sent a company of Foot and a troope of Horse to take possession.

This new and enlarged possession was inriched, honoured, and secured by the God of the sea, who had provided for our welcome and warlike entertainment a *Dunkirke* ship, a man of war, that came from *Spain* furnished with 21 peeces of big brass and iron Ordnance, fit to supply the Castle and fortifie other Garrisons. Desire to see this Forreiner, and care to secure this captivity, led some of note and worth into a teadious and removing captivitie; yet could not the enemy be thus satisfied, for the misse of such a prize they labour to destroy that by fire which God had sent by water. But God that sent the Peeces saved them; the most came whole and safe to the Castle before and after their lodging was fired. But malice and enuie followed them.

The Earle attended with great strength besets *Lancaster,* and sends this summons.

To the Major and Burgesses of the *Town of* Lancaster *these.*

*Gentlemen,*

*I am come into these parts by His Majesties speciall command, to free you from the bondage of these declared Traitours that now oppresse you, and endeavour your destruction, by bringing you into their own condition. I will not now mention your former neglect of*

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"Roundheads," taken from the Papists in Lancashire, and said to correspond with others found at Waller's house at Beaconsfield, Co. Bucks. It is described as being a staff, twelve feet long, with a pike at the end, projecting from a knob, armed with spikes, and certaine to inflict a deadly wound in whatever way it struck.

[1] *Speciall Passages,* as before; and respecting the ship, see *God's Lift-up Hand for Lancashire,* p. 89, where the greater part of this passage is quoted literally.

*the Kings Service, nor I hope I need not tell you what Forces I have, or might have upon occasion, nor how joyfully all the Countrey in my march have joyned themselves unto me. If you will submit the Town and your Armes unto me, and likewise endeavour with me to reobtaine the Castle, you shall have all faire usage from me; if not, expect from me what the Law of the Land and of Warre will inflict upon you. Thus expecting your answer by ten of the Clock this day, I rest*

March the 18, Your friend,
eight a clock. *Derby.*

This Summons came first to the hands of our Commanders of the Castle, who gave the Town leave to returne this Answer.

Right Honourable,

*We received yours of this instant, and do return this Answer; that all our Arms are under the command of Officers now within our Town for the King and Parliament, so that we have not the disposall of them; and at their comming they took and fortified the Castle, which was never in our command: and by reason thereof, have our Towne likewise at their pleasure: so that both the Town and Castle are now at the disposall, and will be (by Gods blessing) kept for his Majestie. And thus we humbly take our leave, and rest*

Your Honours
*in all due respects.*

This Answer pleaseth not; they must expect the punishments of War, which they found. They fiercely assault for an hour in vaine; they turn their rage upon houses, and by commission on the sudden become ready firemen, all of them. They fire Houses and Barnes without the sentinell, in which they sacrificed their dead bodies. Thus they heated and smoked our valiant souldiers from their Sentinell; and when they were entred the Towne, Papist like, they continue to burn and butcher, denying Quarter to our men, but rather cursedly quartering them; from which cruelty (raging mad) the most of our forces retired into the Castle.

The account of this cowardly Conquest is thus given in from *Lancaster:* The dwelling houses that were burned, were in number fourscore and ten, containing three hundred Bayes of building. The Barnes, Stables, Cow-houses, replenished with Corn, Hay, and Cattell, that were burned, were eighty-six, contayning two hundred and forty Bayes of building, and one Malt Kiln of four Bayes of building, with three hundred Windles of Malt therein. By all which it evidently appears that they displayed the Banner of the Skarlet coloured Beast.

A miracle of mercy was wrought in the midst of this undoing and heart breaking misery. They purposly and industriously gave fire to two houses of persons well affected to King and Parliamentt, but they would not take fire, no, by no means, though they renewed their endeavours severall times in severall places, though the next houses were burnt down to ground. God restrained the remnant of their rage: he remembred his promise, *Esay.* 43. 2. *The flame shall not kindle upon thee.* Faith quenched the violence of fire; this Shield quenched the fierie darts of the Devill.[1]

*March* 19. 2000 of our Forces marched out for the timely relief of *Lancaster*, but how they were divided and diverted, walked and breathed too and fro, whilest the Earle fires *Lancaster*, recovered *Preston*, and rifled *Blackburne*, I have no minde to inquire, but doe sadly remember; and cannot easily forget how these tydings affrighted our Commanders out of *Lancaster* Castle, and exposed the Castle so well appointed, to the will of the Enemy, had not the mighty God, by the assistance of a minister, doubled the spirit of the heartie (though headlesse) Souldiers, to maintain with utmost hazzard so great a trust. Thus God set our summe backe many degrees, but not in manifest favour as to *Hezekiah:* yet he brought us to himselfe in Fasting and Prayer the seven and twentieth day of *March*, that we repenting he might repent.

This very night came a messenger from *Lancaster* Castle, reporting the safetie of the Castle, the heartiness of the Souldiers, and their comfortable provision.

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[1] *Mercurius Aulicus*, p. 84; and *Lancaster's Massacre*, p. 86.

### *Boltons second Assault.*[1]

The Earle encouraged by so manifold successe, hopes to gain all; he brings on *Boltons* second hour of sore Temptation, yet in an unhappy season, *March* twenty eight, the day before the Nationall Fast, and immediately after the Fast, *March* 27, at *Manchester*, because of the Designe in hand, and also when the Towne was well provided with Souldiers, and *Bury* also furnished for their succour. The Enemie made no neare approach till three of the clock; so soone as they began to draw into a Body upon the Moore, our Cannoneer drew his Cannon into a Croft on the backside of the Towne, and at the second shot killed two horses neare a mile off. Then a Messenger came to summon the Towne to submission, but they resolved not to change the tenure for King and Parliament. When Sun was set, and it began to be dark, the Minister of the Town prayed with a company of Souldiers, most of them Townsmen. The end of Prayer was the beginning of the Fight, and where the Souldiers had even now prayed, they had a furious assault. The enemy came on desperately, even to hand blowes, and some of them leaped upon the Works, where they found Club-law. The enemy retreated, and left ten men dead. After this they made no assault till *Bury* forces were come into the Town: for this second time they were more favourable to leave an open passage to our succour. Then they made an assault upon the South end of the Towne; by the advantage of the darknesse they came close to the Mud-wall. Here they hoped to prosper by fire, as at *Lancaster*, but the light discovering their nearnesse to danger, they fled for safetie. After this they marched towards the West, but finding it a busie and warm corner, they hasted off, and came on no more. The Enemy left upon the ground at this assault three and twenty men. *Bolton* lost not a man, nor had any hurt done save only one youth shot through the arme. O admirable! *In Judah is God knowne, his name is great in Israell.* Psalme 76. 1. *Many a time have they afflicted me* (may *Bolton* now say) *yet they have* (*not*) *prevailed against me.* Psalm 129. 1, 2.

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[1] No separate account of this second assault has occurred; but it is necessary to complete the number of assaults recorded on Okey's grave-stone in Bolton churchyard. —"This town *thrice* stormed, once taken and plundered."

It was the aggravation of *Solomons* sinne and Gods anger, that God had appeared unto him twice. 1 *Kings* 11. 9. Pray God that it prove not *Boltons* case.

This starre appearing promised day to succeed our night, as it did in the taking of *Wigan*, *April* 1, that impregnable piece the Enemies pride and presumption, our fear and despaire; of which we sometimes said, it was not possible to take it by assault, or not without much blood, though indeed the sinfulness of the place did render it the weakest of all others.

Though our Horse made a retreating onset before our Foot came up, though two Souldiers were slain with a Cannon Bullet in their marching up, yet so venterous and daring was the stirring resolution of our Souldiers, that they were suddenly engaged so farre, that they must go on or lose their lives.

They goe on and enter, whilest the Enemy opens a back doore to go out, that the Towne might be free.

A bright beam of this shining victory, was that God by a merciful recompence gave it into the hands of *Bolton* Souldiers, who had been twice infested from *Wigan*, an evidence that God's side will prosper, bee the disproportion what it will, poore *Bolton* shall abide a double storm when God is with it; proud and powerful *Wigan* shall fall at once and with ease, when God is departed from it.

This glorious victory found us not gracious enough, it was too much for us well to mannage; it was not so gloriously achieved as obscurely left; it was turned into mourning by the too impressive report of the Earls returning upon us. The Town, that strong and advantageous Towne, was left that night.

But I love not to rake into, and gaze upon the infirmities of men taken at advantage. In generall I conceive the case was that of *Barak*, *Judges* 4. 8, 9. the worke was undertaken in unbeliefe, so that though we got the day, yet we lost the honour. Had wee beene soaring npon the wing of Faith, we had not fallen so low in feare.

### *Warringtons first Assault.*[1]

In great unpreparednesse, in debt for *Wigan*, in neglect of meanes of reconciliation, in disorder and confidence of our Souldier's, we assaulted *Warrington* the fift day of *April*, about four of the Clock, till the night tooke us off. Thither wee came to leave our dead, to distresse the well affected in the Towne, to shame our courage, and in all to suffer the punishment of former miscarriages, wherein *Cheshire* deeply shared with us. Now we had the greatest strength abroad, partly our own, and partly borrowed: But God delighteth not in the strength of the horse, he taketh not pleasure in the legs of a man; the Lord taketh pleasure in them that fear him, in those that hope in his mercy, *Psal.* 147. 10, 11. *Wigan* (thought impregnable) proved easie; *Warrington* (thought easie) proved now impregnable: This seasonable check chode us to duty, to publike thanksgivings for *Wigan*-mercy the eleventh of *April;* to humiliation, under *Warrington*-displeasure, the thirteenth of *April.* The day of thanksgiving was made joyfull by the incoming of Ammunition; the day of humiliation was delivered of that wonder, or confluence of wonders about Padiham.

### *The rise of Blackburne.*[2]

The Earle accompanied with 2000 (as is judged) came to *Ribchester* over night, to *Whalley* by eight of the clocke to a Green not far from *Padiham;* Our side had but two or three hundred Fire-men, and fourscore or a hundred Horse, so that in means there was no possibility of safety. When we went out first to meet them there were not above a hundred Firemen, yet such resolution God gave them, above and against all sense and reason, that they would needs let flie at them, and God suddenly turned them to flight. Our encouraged Souldiers pursued them to *Whalley*, (where their two or three shots of Powder (all they had at first to accomplish so great a work) were well increased by their enemies store) from thence to the Sands, thence to *Lango* Green, thence to *Rible*-side, called *Salsbury* Boat: The Horse and Foot took *Rible*, many of the Foot wading to the chin. In all this Chase, being about five miles in length, they often turned their faces, but as often turned their backs, and hasted away, till they had quit the Hundred and no more infested it.

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[1] See the notes on *Manchester's Joy for Derbie's Overthrow*, p. 94.

[2] *Relation of Col. Ashton's Victory over the E. of Derby at Whalley*, p. 95.

Thus God remembred us in our low estate; he chose the weak things of the world, to confound the things that are mighty, that no flesh should glory in his presence; O my soul thou hast trodden down strength, God hath delivered *Sisera* into the hand of a woman; Have they not sped? have they not divided the prey? (they boasted in the morning what they would do, and directed their Warrants to the Countrey to come in the day following, to compound with the Earl for their liberty.) So let all thine enemies perish O God; but let them that love thee be as the Sun when he goeth forth in his might, rising higher and higher till he come to a noonday Victory.

### *Lancaster Voyage.*[1]

Our desire to secure our Garrisons, to relieve *Warrington*, which we had occasionally oppressed, and to improve those new talents lent us by God, and sent us by Sea, made us thinke upon a Voyage to *Lancaster;* the fairnesse of the weather, and drinesse of the way, were strong encouragements. We began our March the eight and twentieth day of *April:* the presence of God was sought for safe Convoy; and so terrible was the presence that accompanied our March (what else can it be imputed to?) that our Forces passed safely thorow *Wigan*, (though the enemy found his former nest after we had taken it) *Prescot*, *Ormeskirk*, (where we marred an intended muster) and *Preston* (that recovered Preston). Whence (hearing our friends in *Lancashire* were in some danger, though it was nothing but the Earls hasting into *Yorkshire*, and the rest of the Forces speeding to *Hornby* Castle) we stretched our March to *Lancaster*.

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[1] The details of this advance of the Parliamentarians northwards, and the movements of Lord Derby and of his forces to fall back on the Queen at York, are given in Extracts from Newspapers, p. 99.

In all this way as we moved, so the enemy removed; we saw nothing remarkable in them, but cruelty and cowardice: For some Troops of Horse meeting a poor boy unarmed, which outwent his company, clave his head, and barbarously mangled him: Also thereabouts the enemy after a slight skirmish, overcame by flight.

Our arrive at *Lancaster* was welcomed with the safety of the Castle, the good posture of the Garrison, their comfortable provision, and the well nigh preparednesse of the Carriage: And after we had refreshed our Army a few days with the sight of *Thurland* Castle, and the report of our forraigners against *Hornby* Castle, we advanced homeward the ninth day of *May*, and under the former gracious Conduct came safe home, though laden with the weight of twelve whole Pieces and two broken ones (the rest fortifying the Castle) all which we acknowledged in solemne thanksgiving in *Manchester*, the sixteenth of *May*.

## *Warrington Siege.*[1]

All this while the cry of oppressed *Warrington* importuned heaven, and compassion wrought in us: and having this far fetched terrifying assistance, we entred upon a new and prosperous Voyage the twentieth day of *May*: The three and twentieth of *May* was designed for Fasting and Prayer in *Manchester,* to meet with the beginning of the enterprise against *Warrington.*

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[1] See Extracts from Contemporary Authorities, p. 101.

Whilst the duty was in performing, tidings came of the taking of *Winwick* Church and Steeple, they on the Steeple standing on terms till God sent a deadly messenger out of a Fowling Piece to one of them; also a strong Hall, possessed by professed Romane Catholikes, and stored with Provision, as if it had been purposely laid in both for our supply and ease.

In this *Warrington* Siege so good a friend was God to our faith, that the greatest Peece was made unusefull the second time it was in use, and without the terrour of those Idols the living God gave us the Church and Steeple the 26 of *May,* with the losse of one man; and that strong Hold upon terms *May* 28.

A Providence much to be observed in this Siege was this: One night our men were to work within half Musket shot of the Town; It was a great calme that they could not worke but the enemy would hear: When some went to worke others went to Prayers: and God raised a great winde that tooke away the noise: a Providence not altogether unlike what I have heard in *Boston.* The Chancellor gave Organs to *Boston;* before they breath in that new world the well-affected pray: after their prayers, a mighty winde forceth its passage into the Church, blows down the Organs, brake them, and stopt their breath.

That which ripened the enemies ruine, was their hard usage of prisoners, and well affected in the Town, their extreme cruelty in the Countrey, killing a godly man and his wife in their owne house; and their professed confidence and pride in their strong Hold appearing by their hanging out a Flag of Defiance upon the highest Chimney.

At this time waited a Ship at *Liverpoole,* watching this friendly opportunity to unburden itself for *Cheshire,* and to supply us with Powder, *Liverpoole* readily giving entertainment and assistance to it and us. Some recompence God made to tyred *Warrington,* in the shortnesse of the Siege, and security from spoyle, which we charitably made an Article of our Peace: This return of Prayers, called in our Vows in *Manchester, June* 1.

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### *Lancaster succoured.*[1]

About this time *Lancaster,* that had relieved us, called aloud for relief, having been begirt twenty dayes, the report of our march raised the seige, and strongly garrisoned *Hornby* and *Thursland* Castles; the rest of the Forces marching into *Westmorland,* and thence into *Yorkeshire,* to joyn with the Queen of Armies. Having relieved our Garrison, we marched toward the Castles; the attempt upon one, was blessed to win both. Three foot Companies being drawn out to view *Horneby* Castle, They fell upon an Ambuscado of the Enemy within halfe Musket shot, they gave fire upon the whole Body of Horse and Foot; But God made all shot free a promising Providence.

This attempt was judged dangerous in the undertaking, and dishonourable in the Issue, but incouraged by a weighty and seasonable word of a present Divine.

The Onset was led on, not altogether unlike that of *David* upon the *Amalekites,* 1 *Sam.* 30. 11.

Our Scouts took a Souldier that had escaped out of the Castle, who gave us true information of the state of things, taught us rather to enter in by the Window (a great Window at the end of the Hall) and undertook to lead the Forces to this place of advantage. The Companies drawn out for this Designe, accommodated with scaling Ladders, great Hammers, Ropes, Mattocks, and some combustible matter for the Gates, were appointed to play upon that side towards the Gates, to draw them from that side, where the rest were to force their entrance. The fore Forces played upon the Castle and Church not without great danger of Iron and Stones, till they put fire to the Gates which smoaked them further off: The back-forces were as busie at the

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[1] The reduction of Hornby and Thurland are given in p. 106, but less particularly; and the circumstance of the siege of Lancaster by the Westmoreland forces, and the raising of it by Ashton's advance, are not noticed in the account there extracted.

Window, scaling and hammering; Which undaunted resolution to enter by the Gates and Window, speeded the cry of the Enemy for Quarter, which was speedily granted, the Gates opened, and the Castle entred.

In this assault, for two hours space, we lost but two Common Souldiers, a third dangerously wounded, some other hurt with stones but not mortally.

### *Thursland Castle.*

The next day *Thursland* Castle was delivered upon unkept conditions,[1] which would be a wonder here and elsewhere, did we not know the principle, *No faith is to be kept with Heretikes.*

By this time mercie hath set us a crowne upon the head of poor *Lancashire,* the rich blessing of dying *Moses, Deut.* 33. 29. *Happy art thou, O Lancashire, who is like unto thee, O people! Saved by the Lord, the Shield of thy help, and who is the sword of thy excellency, and thine enemies shall be found lyars unto thee, and thou shalt tread upon their high places.* And I may revive *Habakuk's* Song, *Hab.* 3. 12, 13, 14. *Thou didst march thorow the land in indignation, thou did thresh the Heathen in anger, thou wentest forth for the salvation of thy People, even for salvation with thine anointed; thou woundest the head out of the house of the wicked, by discovering the foundation unto the necke, Selah. Though didst strike thorow with his staves the head of his villages; they came out as a whirlwinde to scatter me, their rejoycing was as to devour the poor secretly.* When God had thus rode thorow our County upon his Horses and Charets of Salvation, The whole County triumphed in his praise, *July* 5. *For our mouth was inlarged over our enemies and our heart did rejoyce in his Salvation.*

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[1] The "unkept conditions" appear to relate to the re-occupation of it by Sir John Girlington, who filled it with forces anew, upon which it was taken and burnt by Rigby, in the early part of October following. See particulars in Rigby's letter, printed in this volume, p. 148.

Having thus led the Reader over the severall Beds of Flowers in this Garden of Providence, I will gather and binde up a Posie of select and fragrant Flowers, and sweetly conclude this comfortable Historie.

1. *Our Nobles have been of ourselves, and our Governors have proceeded out of the midst of us.* Jer. 30. 20. *Some of them the subject of earnest Prayer, Publike, Private, Ordinary, Extraordinary, for seven years space if not for ten.*

2. *Our Commanders and Leaders have had unparalelled preservation, we lost but one man of note, but one Captain in all our conflicts, and him through extreme crueltie ; he asked quarter, but all was on fire in* Lancaster,[1] *and they would give none, but sought rather cruelly to kill him ; then to kill him by many rather than by one, God covered their heads in the day of battle.* Psal. 140. 7. He gave them the shield of his salvation. *Psal.* 18. 35.

3. *Duties of humiliation and thanksgiving (which were cooped up in corners, as deeds of darknesse, by the Bishops) were now by the countenance of authority brought into the open assembly, as the onely way of successe and prosperity, in our just defence and offence.*

4. *Evident undenyable answers of Prayers, sometimes at present, sometimes soon after.*

5. *Mercies denied at one time with strokes, have been granted at another time with full handed favours.*

6. *God hath remembred us in our low estate, our highest Tide hath followed our lowest Ebbe. Gods power hath been perfected in our weaknesse, his beauty hath shined in our confusions.*

7. *God hath shared his imployments and successes in a kinde of proportion, amongst our Commanders and Souldiers, that all might have some, and none might have all, that all might be humbled, and none discouraged. Herein hath God wisely wrought for their unity, mutuall respects, assistance, encouragement, and honour.*

8. *Mercies and afflictions have counter-poized one another ; In all this way of providence mercies have been imbittered, and crosses*

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[1] Captain William Shuttleworth, of Gawthorp, slain at Lancaster. See p. 85 ; and Whitaker's *Whalley*, p. 339.

*sweetened; comfort and humiliation have watched and waited on each other. Gods constant project hath been, to nourish grace, and subdue corruption at the same time; a worke no lesse happy then hard.*

All I would say more, is to the County, much hath beene said of it, and of God in it: Let me speake *Samuels* counsel. 1 *Samuel* 12. 14. *Onely feare the Lord, and serve him in truth with all your heart, for consider how great things he hath done for you.* Adde *Joshua's* warning. *Josh.* 24. 20. *If ye forsake the Lord and serve strange gods, then will he turn and doe you hurt and consume you after he hath done you good,* which God
forbid, for his Christs
sake.

FINIS.

# Chapter VI.

NEWCASTLE'S SUMMONS OF MANCHESTER—SKIRMISHES OF HIS TROOPS WITH THE GARRISON IN THE DEFILES NEAR BLACKSTONE EDGE—DEFEAT OF THE CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORELAND ROYALISTS BY RIGBY—AND FINAL REDUCTION AND DESTRUCTION OF THURLAND CASTLE.

JULY—OCTOBER MDCXLIII.

## XXXVI.

*A Declaration and Summons sent by the Earl of Newcastle to the Town of Manchester, to lay down their arms, with the resolute Answer of the Commanders in chief and Souldiers in Manchester, to spend their blood for the honour of the King, the Protestant Religion, and the Priviledges of Parliament, against the Papists and Malignants now under his Lordships command.*

*Imprimatur* John White.

London, printed for *Peter Cole,* and are to be sold at the Glove in *Cornhill,* July 15, 1643.

A Declaration and Summons sent by the Earl of *Newcastle* to the town of *Manchester* to lay downe their Armes, &c.

I presume you are not ignorant of the successe it hath pleased Almighty God to give unto his Majesties army under my command,[1] and the great desire I have to avoyd of Christian bloud, which moves me, before I proceed any further towards you, to make you an offer of his Majesty's Grace and Mercy, if you will submit yourselves, lay downe your armes, so unjustly taken up in contempt of the lawes of this kingdom, and immediately returne to your due allegiance. His Majesty is gratiously pleased to authorize me to receive you into his favour and protection, which I am as willing to do, as to inforce your obedience if you will refuse. I cannot but wonder while you fight against the King and his authority, you should so boldly offer to Professe yourselves for King and Parliament, and most ignominiously scandalize this Army with the Title of Papists, when we ventured our Lives and Fortunes for the true Protestant Religion, established in this Kingdome. Be no longer deceived, for the bloud that shall be shed in this quarrel will assuredly fall on your own heads. I have no other ends in this, but to let you see your error, if you please, for my condition is such that I need not Court you; if not, let me receive your answers by this messenger, and you may expect to find little favour (if you force my nature), but such as is due to high Contemners of His Majesties Grace and Favour, now offered to you by

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[1] Alluding to his recent successes against Lord Fairfax and his son at Atherton or Adwalton Moor, June 30, and against Sir Thomas Fairfax at Bradford, on or about July 2. See Fairfax's *Memoirs*, the Duchess of N.'s *Life of Newcastle*, and Lister's *Autobiography*, p. 22, edit. 1842.

W. NEWCASTLE.

*Bradford*, 5 July
1643.

## MANCHESTER'S ANSWER.

Right Honourable,

It hath been ever since the first fomenting of the unhappy differences in this kingdom, and so shall be our principall care and endeavour to preserve the true Protestant Religion by law established in this Realm, the honour of the King in all Regall Rights and Prerogatives, and Priviledges of Parliament, and the true and native liberties and Priviledges of the subject by Law established: and then it is not to be wondred at, that having been oppressed by Papists and other Malignants we have by defensive arms laboured to repell such as by colour of his Majesties Commission have endeavoured to overthrow Religion, his Majesties Regall Rights and Honour, with all the immunities of this Kingdom, in the Preservation whereof his Majesties Noble Progenitors have so long and honourably flourished: by which we hope it is apparent to all indifferent, judicious, and religious people, that we have not put ourselves out of his Majesties protection, nor cannot possibly enter into our understanding that the true Protestant Religion cannot be intended to be defended by so great a Company of Papists, as have been and now are in arms under such protection; nor the Propriety of the Subject by so many Aliens, and other Malefactors, as daily resort unto them: and we could wish so honourable a person as yourself might be seperated and freed from protecting such Delinquents. Sir, we are nothing dismayed at your force, but hope that God, who hath been our Protector hitherto, will so direct our just Army, that we shall be able to return the violence intended into their bosoms, that shall assay the prosecution of it, which shall be the endeavour of

*His Majesties most humble and*
*Obedient Subjects.*[1]

Rochdale, 7 July
1643.

## EXTRACTS FROM NEWSPAPERS, ETC. RELATIVE TO THE SKIRMISHES BETWEEN THE EARL OF NEWCASTLE AND THE MANCHESTER GARRISON,

June 16—Sep. 1, 1643.

*Continuation of certain Speciall Passages*, No. 52.

June 16.—Two thousand "of the valiant Manchester Men" stated to have come to the assistance of Fairfax in Yorkshire.

*Perfect Diurnall* (Coles and Blaiklock) No. 1, June 30.

As above; but the troops rated at 1500 foot and three troops of horse. Their own country "freed from all disturbers of their peace," and the Earl of Derby (as supposed) "at his house in Holy Island."

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[1] The title of a tract connected with this subject is added, but it does not contain any historical matter:

"Some Notable Observations upon the late Summons by the Earl of Newcastle, of the Town of Manchester. Written by a worthy Member of the House of Commons, and appointed to be printed. (Imprimatur John White.) London, printed for Edward Husbands, and are to be sold at his shop in the Middle Temple, 1643, Aug. 4." 4to. 8pp.

*Parliamentary Scout*, No. 2, June 29—July 6.

Fairfax and the Manchesterians discomfited at Bradford, and only 200 remaining with him, "the rest having gone home. There was few or none of them slaine, for they never came to engage in the fight, they bringing up the reare of the army." This relates to the defeat of Fairfax at Adderton or Adwalton Moor by the Earl of Newcastle. See Lister's *Autobiography*, p. 19, 8vo. 1842.

[Then follow the *Earl of Newcastle's Summons to Manchester*, July 5; and *Manchesters Answer*, dated Rochdale, July 7, as given in the preceding Tract.]

*Perfect Diurnall* (Coles and Blaiklock) No. 3, July 17.

Parliament receives an account of Newcastle's Summons, and an application from Manchester for "40 barrels of powder and some few arms, and they doubt not but to preserve their town and whole countie, and further, to assist Lord Fairfax."

According to the dates given by Roseworm, this application is immediately subsequent to the Earl of Newcastle's defeat of the Manchesterians at Wisked Hill, where he (Roseworm) was not present; and prior to the fortifications of the Yorkshire passes, made under the direction of him and the Deputy Lieutenants of Lancashire, which finally diverted the Earl to the siege of Hull.

*Certaine Informations*, No. 26, July 17.

July 13.—Mention of Newcastle's Summons and the Reply. "And it is further informed that they have placed a garrison of twelve hundred men in *Rochdale*, and eight hundred men more upon *Blackstone edge*, to guard the passage into their country out of Yorkshire, and that they have sent away Colonell Goring and their other prisoners, but whither it was not knowne, yet it was supposed to Liverpole."

*Perfect Diurnall*, No. 4, July 17—24.

July 17.—"Manchester men, it is this day certified, have secured the passage from Yorkshire into their countie, with two pieces of ordnance and a strong garrison, and have now little feares of any attempte against them by the Newcastle army; and they have sent up to the Parliament Colonell Goring, Sir Thomas Danby, Sir John Gotherick, and Major Hilliard, that were prisoners there."[1]

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[1] The three last were taken prisoners about the beginning of the year, in fights near Bradford. There is much confusion as to the *Colonel* Goring intended. See Fairfax's *Memoirs*, the Tracts appended to Lister's *Autobiography*; and the remarks of Lodge in his life of Lord Goring, in his *Illustrious Portraits*.

### *Certaine Informations*, No. 27, July 17—24.

Advice from Manchester that Newcastle had lately sent "200 horse to break through the passage at *Blacstone edge* into their countrey, but with no successe, for their garrison in that place slew and tooke some of them, and sent back the rest to tell their fellows that they will hardly have passage that way, because it is naturally so strong that five hundred men can keep 1000, neither is that way fit, either for carriages or ordnance."

### *Continuation of Special Passages*, No. 51.

July 20.—"On Saturday last we had certaine news from Lancashire, that the ever renouned Manchesterians had given a repulse to the domineering Popish army in the North, upon their attempt at the passage of *Blackston* to invade that county; that they tooke about four troopes of their horse, and forced the rest to a retreat. The statement adds, "that the Manchester men are so little in feare of the Popish army, that they have sent a greate part of their forces to joyne with Sir *William Brereton*, in the besieging of *Chester*."—See Burghall's *Diary* as to this junction, July 17.—Cole's MSS. Brit. Mus.

July 27.—Confirmation of defeat of Newcastle, and intelligence that the Manchester "forces which beseeged Warrington had ever since beseeged Halton Castle (in Cheshire)"—which would have fallen sooner, if the garrison had not receeved supplies through the treachery of some of the Parliamentary commanders. Ricraft (*England's Champions*, p. 91) dates its fall on July 22.

### *Certaine Informations*, No. 28, July 31.

That some of Newcastle's forces had been defeated in Lancashire, near Colne; some slain, and about forty taken.

### *Parliament Scout*, No. 7, p. 54, Aug. 10.

Manchester sends out forces towards Yorkshire, to take in some small places upon the frontiers.

### *Certaine Informations*, No. 30, Aug. 14.

Communication with Manchester interrupted, "because the roads are stopt, so that no post can passe," but accounts from travellers that Lancashire is quiet since they beat the Newcastellians from Colne, Clithero, and Thornton.

### *Mercurius Aulicus*, p. 465. *Letters from York*, Aug. 24.

That the King's troops at Newark had taken all the rebels' fourscore horse laden with ammunition, going from Boston "to relieve all their good brethren at Manchester."

*Certaine Informations*, p. 257, No. 33.

Sep. 1.—Letters from Manchester "that the whole county palatine of Lancaster enjoyeth yet ease, quiet, and freedom both from internall and externall enemies."

*Mercurius Britannicus*, No. 2, Sep. 5.

Sep. 2.—Lancashire. "They write thence that the Earl of Derby (whose ancestors were formerly reputed King in Man, though this gentleman for adhering to the Papists is deserted of mankind in his own countrey) keeps privately in the Isle of Man, bewailing his honour that is wounded, and repairing his losses out of his friends estates in that Isle by force. The Lancashire horse still make incursions into Craven in Yorkeshire, and get horses, cattel, and sheep, from off the lands of those in arms against the Parliament."

## XXXVII.

*A True Relation of the great victory obtained by Gods providence by the Parliaments forces in Lancashire, against the forces raised by the King in the Counties of Westmoreland and Cumberland, where they took Thurland Castle, and in the fight took of the Enemy Col. Huddleston, 2 Captains, an Ensigne, 400 prisoners, 7 Colours, killd many, drove many into the Sea, took their Magazine, divers Arms and Horses, and totally routed them.*

*Sent in a letter by Colonell Rigby, a member of the House of Commons, to the Honourable William Lenthall, Esq., Speaker of the said House.*

*Ordered by the Commons in Parliament that this Relation be forthwith printed and published.*

H. Elsynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Printed for *Edw. Husbands*, Nov. 20, 1643.

A true relation of the great Victory obtained by God's providence by *the Parliaments forces*, &c.[1]

*Honoured Sir*,

That I may give you an account of our proceedings at Thurland, you may understand that Sir *John Girlington* having drawn forces into his Castle of Thurland,[1] he began to plunder the Countrey, and commit Robberies and Murthers, and thereupon for the suppression of him and his adherents, I repaired thither, and after 7 weeks straight siege of the Castle it was delivered unto me to be demolished, upon agreement to suffer him and all his in the Castle to passe away with their lives and goods. During most part of the siege the greatest part of the Forces of Westmerland lay within our view, and daily threatned us, but God confined them to their own County, and every day more and more inclined the hearts of the Commons of Westmerland to decline any attempt upon us, though we then lay in an Out angle of our County, far from Supplies, and whilest these things were in suspense a Design was set on foot by all the Malignant Gentry of Westmerland and Cumberland, and by *Roger Kirby* and *Alex. Rigby*, of the Burghe, two Lancashire Men, to raise all the forces of Cartmell and Fournes part of Lancashire, to joyn with Cumberland and Westmerland, to surprize Lancaster and Hornby[2] Castles, and to assault us on all sides, and to raise our siege, and then to proceed further into Lancashire, and as upon credible information I beleive to joyn with *Latham House*, and all the ill affected in our County, to our generall devastation. And to this end they drew together part of Cumberland forces into Fournes, and with them the strength of that place, to about the number of 1600, intending the next day to

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[1] This letter is printed in Vicars' *Parliamentary Chronicle*, part ii. p. 78. An account

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of the engagement between Rigby and Col. Hudleston (by Thomas Park of Millwood, high constable of Furness, and a witness of the action) is given in West's *Furness*, 4to. p. 52, which fixes the date *of the battle* to *Sunday, Oct.* 1. It was fought at *Lyndale Close.*

[1] Thurland had previously surrendered, together with its owner, to Col. Ashton, in June preceding, but, as the author of the *Valley of Achor* states, "on unkept conditions," alluding possibly to this reoccupation by Girlington.

[2] An order for dismantling Hornby Castle had passed Parliament in July preceding this letter, but of course had not been carried into effect.

The Castle here mentioned, and which occupied what Dr. Whitaker considered to be the noblest situation in Lancashire, must be distinguished from the earlier Castle built by the Montbegon family on the same site, and which possessed a keep tower of which the walls were thirty-six feet in width at the base. It had been rebuilt by the hero of Flodden, Edward Stanley, Lord Monteagle; but though inferior to its predecessor, is said to have included twenty-one acres within its walls. See Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, ii. 253.

March into Cartmell towards us, and then to adde to their forces, and in their way they tooke and imprisoned divers of the best affected, and caused the rest of them to fly out of the Country, who posting to us, I forthwith took 500 foot, 2 Drakes, and 3 small Troopes of Horse, parcell of my forces at Thurland, and with them in one day I marched almost 30 miles, over mountaines, and thro Sea sands and waters, within two miles of the Enemy, and the next morning, being the Lords day, we found the Enemy in the Field, standing with a body of Horse and another of foot in a posture to receive us, upon a ground chosen for their own advantage: and when we were within half a mile of them, we committed ourselves to Gods protection, and began our worke with publike prayers for his blessing upon us: and those done, we speeded up to the Enemy with such Resolution and Courage in all the Captaines and Common Souldiers, as by their deportment I might have rather deemed that they had made hast to have saluted their friends than to have encountered their enemies. The enemies word was (*In with Queen Mary*), ours was (*God with us*), and at our first appearance God so struck the hearts of these our enemies with terrour, that before a blow given their Horse began to retreat, our foot gave a great shout, our Horse pursued, theirs fled; their foot dispersed and fled; they all trusted more to their feet then their hands; they threw away their arms and colours, deserted their Magazin drawn by 8 oxen, and were totally routed in one quarter of an hour's time; our horse slew some few of them in the pursuit and drave many of them into the Sea; We took their Colonel *Huddleston* of Millam, 2 Captains and an Ensign, and about 400 Prisoners, 6 foot Colours and one horse Colour, and their Magazin, and some horses and more Arms than men; and all this without the losse of any one man of ours; we had only one man hurt by the Enemy, and only another hurt by himselfe with his own Pistoll, but neither mortally; upon the close of the business all our men with a great shout cryed out Glory be to God, and wee all, except one Troop of horse and one foot Company, which I left to quiet the Country, returned forthwith to our siege at Thurland; most of our Horsemen without alighting from our horses, and most of us all without eating or drinking, so that early the next day we came again to Thurland, where we found our siege continued within view of more then treble forces from Westmerland. This worke in Fournes had that influence upon all the Castlers and all the Gentry of Westmerland and Cumberland who then lay within our sight at Kirby Loynsdale, that within two days after, the Castle was by the negotiation of Sir *Philip Musgrave*, then commanding in chiefe in Westmerland and Cumberland, agreed to be rendered unto me to be demolished, which is accordingly done, and though I endeavoured to have preserved all the combustible materials therein from fire, yet I could not therein prevaile with the common Souldiers without great displeasure.

My humble suit now is, to have the order of the house of Commons for my indempnity for demolishing the Castle, and because Colonel *Hudleston* (who yet hath a Regiment in Yorkshire, in or near Halifax) is as I heare Serjeant Major General of Cumberland, and the most considerable Man in Cumberland, and our next neighbour to Lancashire, and one whom, without further danger to the peace of our Countie, I cannot conceive can be kept Prisoner here, I have therefore presumed to send him unto you, under the care and custody of Mr. *Robert Fog*, of whose industry and fidelity both you and wee here have had much experience. Sir, that God may bless and prosper all your designs, and proceedings, for his glory and the peace of this Kingdom, is the daily prayer of

Your most humble Servant,
ALEX. RIGBY.

*Preston in Lancashire,*
*this* 17 *of October*, 1643.[1]

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[1] The Castle mentioned in this letter as thus taken for the second time and destroyed, was the seat of the Tunstalls from the reign of Edward II to about 1637, when it passed by sale to the Girlingtons, who again alienated it towards the close of the same century. It was fortified by license, temp. Henry IV, and numbers amongst its proprietors the "stainless knight" of Scott's *Marmion*, Sir Brian Tunstall. An excellent account of it will be found in Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, with an engraving of the modern Castle,—a most successful imitation of the ancient castellated mansions, and erected close to the ruins of the more ancient pile, which is also engraved among Phillips's *Lancashire Halls*. It is said to have been partially restored by John Girlington, before his shrievalty in 1663.

# Chapter VII.

ADVANCE OF LANCASHIRE FORCES INTO CHESHIRE AND WALES—THEIR RETREAT BEFORE BYRON AND THE IRISH TROOPS—WITH DEFEAT NEAR MIDDLEWICH—THEIR COOPERATION WITH BRERETON AND FAIRFAX—RELIEF OF NANTWICH—WITH DEFEAT OF BYRON, WHO FALLS BACK ON CHESTER—COMMENCEMENT OF ACTUAL SIEGE OF LATHOM.

JANUARY—MARCH MDCXLIV.

⁂ The following Extracts from Newspapers relate to the period when the Royalists were reinforced by the Irish troops sent from Dublin by the Marquis of Ormond, on which occasion the Parliamentary Cheshire and Lancashire forces retired from North Wales, and Byron, reducing Hawarden Castle, Beeston Castle, &c. advanced from Chester, of which he was Governor, against the Parliament garrison in *Nantwich*, and summoned it in January 1644. See Clarendon's remarks, *Hist. of Great Rebellion*, iv. 427, edit. 1826: "It cannot be denied the reducing of that place at that time would have been of unspeakable importance to the King's affairs, there being between that and Carlisle no one town of moment (*Manchester* only excepted) against the King: and those two populous counties of Cheshire and Lancashire (if they had been united against the Parliament) would have been a strong bulwark against the Scots."

*Perfect Diurnall*, No. 21 (Coles and Blaiklock) p. 164, Dec. 18.

Tuesday, Dec. 12.—Statement that Sir William Brereton retired to Nantwich on the landing of the 3000 Irish soldiers in Wirral. That Lord Byron had come to Shrewsbury to join them; "and the Manchester men are returned home, to divert General Kinges design either against Manchester or into Cheshire."

To the same effect in Burghall's *Diary* (*Hist. Chesh.* iii. 225) from which it appears that the combined Cheshire and Lancashire forces had previously possessed themselves of Holt, Wrexham, &c. and the adjacent portion of North Wales.

In the same *Diary* (ibidem) will be found an account of the fight hereafter mentioned on Dec. 26, commencing at Booth lane near Sandbach, and terminating in the defeat of the Parliamentarians at Middlewich. It is also noticed in the Cheshire Tract entitled *Magnalia Dei*, 4to. 1644, p. 3.

*Perfect Diurnall*, No. 25 (Coles and Blaiklock) p. 199, Jan. 15.

"You have heard, I doubt not, of the unhappy surprizal of part of Colonel *Ashtons* regement from *Lancashire*, going to assist Sir *William Brewerton*, the truth of which businesse for your better satisfaction is thus related. That the said Colonell marching with his forces towards *Midlewich*, which place was appointed for general rendevouz, the Lord *Byron* having private notice thereof, with about 4000 horse and foote lay in wait to surprize them, and accordingly set upon them at a greate advantage by gayninge of a passage, and after a very hott encounter, and many slaine (whereof Major Ferrer of the enemies, some other officers and many souldiers), our forces being so far overpowerd by the number of the enemy, were put to the rout, but with no great losse of men that I heare of."

*Certaine Informations*, No. 52, p. 409.

Jan. 15, 1644.—In mentioning this defeat of the Lancashire forces near Middlewich, statement that the troops of Lord Byron had received an addition of 4 or 5000 Irish; that the number of the *Lancashire men* that escaped were 6 or 7000, leaving 100 prisoners and 30 slain, after a 4 or 5 hours' fight; and "we also hear from them that those Irish have hewed a godly minister in pieces, and so have begun a new Irish massacre in England."[1]

*Perfect Diurnall* (Coles and Blaiklock) No. 26 (Jan. 22) p. 202.

Letter said to be intercepted (being from Lord Byron to the Earl of Newcastle, respecting the before-mentioned defeat of Col. Ashton's Lancashire regiment) and sent by Sir William Brereton to the House of Commons.[2]

In the same number, a report of the Moorlanders (dragoons) and Fairfax ad-

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[1] This was Mr. John Fowler, whose throat was cut by Major Connought, in the massacre of the country people driven into Barthomley Church. See *Burghall's Diary*, Chester Edit. 8vo. p. 925. "A hopeful young man and a *Minor*," but the Tarporley MS. (Cole's MSS.) gives this more correctly, and reads "*Minister there.*" He was probably son of Richard Fowler, Vicar of Barthomley, who was instituted July 7, 1617. See *Hist. Chesh.* iii. 164.

[2] This letter, which is given also in Vicars' *Parl. Chronicle*, part ii. p. 129, is printed therefrom, with Vicars' remarks inserted between brackets.

"A copy of Sir John Byron's (I had almost said Sir John Butcher's) letter, to the Marquess of Newcastle, dated Dec. 26, 1643.

"My Lord,—I have already dispatched two messengers to your excellency, to give you an account of my proceedings in these parts. I am now at Sambich, and have thought fit to acquaint your excellency that Brereton for the relief of Namptwich had so prevailed with the Lancashire men, as to draw thence 1500 foot, which I having vancing to the relief of Nantwich, "where they may happily meete with this Turkish Lord Byron;" and ibidem, mention of a ship from Bristol, with cannon for Chester, having been taken by its crew to the Parliament garrison at Liverpool.

For the relief of Nantwich by Fairfax, assisted by the Cheshire forces under Sir W. Brereton, and by Ashton with the Lancashire forces, see Roseworm, Fairfax's *Memoirs*, his letter to the Earl of Essex, *Hist. Chesh.* vol. iii. p. 228, Burghall's *Diary*, Partridge's *Nantwich*, *Magnalia Dei*, and Vicars' *Parliamentary Chronicle.*

On Jan. 21, 1643-4, Fairfax marched from Manchester with 2500 foot and 28 troops of horse to the relief of Nantwich, left, during the absence of Brereton (as mentioned in the preceding note), under the command of George Booth, afterwards Lord Delamere, whose aged parent, Sir George Booth the elder, was then on the verge of his eightieth year. In the report of the defeat of Byron on the 25th, addressed to the Earl of Essex, Fairfax praises particularly the services of Col. Ashton. Col. Booth's and Col. Holland's Lancashire regiments were also engaged. Among the prisoners he mentions "120 *women, many of whom had long knives.*" These were a part of the Irish auxiliaries, and are noticed in other proceedings. On Feb. 13, after the raising of the siege, a day of thanksgiving was kept in Acton and Nantwich churches, and subsequently a day of humiliation.

*Continuation of certain Special and Remarkable Passages*, No. 10.

March 7.—Account of Sir Thomas Fairfax having advanced to LATHOM HOUSE, and commenced the actual SIEGE; and of the reported preparations for defence, namely, provisions for 500 men for a quarter of a year, store of gunners, 14 pieces of ordnance, and 500 musqueteers; besiegers almost fifteen hundred.

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notice of, advanced immediately toward him; but as soon as I came within sight of him, he instantly, according to his custom, ran away [a most egregious and intolerable Popish liar, as all men know that know that noble and renowned commander] in great confusion; so that now those forces are so dispersed that they are not likely to meet together again, and I doubt not but, by God's assistance, to clear this county, if your excellency's forces advance towards Stopford, and to be able to set footing in Lancashire. *The Rebels had possessed themselves of a church at Bartumley, but wee presently beat them forth of it, and put them all to the sword, which I find to be the best way to proceed with their kind of people, for mercy to them is cruelty.*"

Whatever the authenticity of this letter may be, it is certain that Lord Byron considered himself much injured by many reports circulated at this period, as by his letter to Mr. Booth, commanding the garrison of Nantwich in Brereton's absence, wherein he complains (Jan. 16, 1643) of his offers being concealed from the garrison, "and they told that no mercy was intended, but that both man, woman, and child, should be put to the sword." In Mr. Booth's reply, he denies the imputation, as "thinking it impossible for gentlemen and soldiers so much to forget humanity." See *Hist. Chesh.* iii. p. 226; and Partridge's *Nantwich*, 66.

# Chapter VIII.

## A JOURNAL OF THE FIRST SIEGE OF LATHOM HOUSE, DEFENDED BY CHARLOTTE, COUNTESS OF DERBY, AGAINST SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, KNIGHT, AND OTHER PARLIAMENTARIAN OFFICERS, 1644.

FROM A CONTEMPORARY MANUSCRIPT, HARL. MSS. 2074.

### INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE following diary of the first siege of LATHOM HOUSE was transcribed, many years ago, from what the Editor considers to be the original MS. of the author. It is written in a cramped contemporary hand, and bound up with other documents of the same period contained in the volume of the Harl. MSS. marked 2074, and from this transcript a limited impression was published in 1823, by his permission. Another copy exists among the volumes lately forming the Ashmolean Collection in Oxford, and a transcript of this, differing in some respects, was published at Liverpool, in a periodical work entitled *The Kaleidoscope.*

Other accounts, contemporary with the event, exist. A fragment of an unpublished one, is bound up in the volume beforementioned; and Archdeacon Rutter, afterwards Bishop of Man, made collections relating generally to the house of Derby, but more particularly "to the ever-memorable Siege of Lathom, the defence whereof he had a large share in."

These Collections have been used by Seacome in his *House of Stanley*, and are acknowledged by him as Rutter's compilation; and there is also a brief account of the Siege in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa* (ii. cap. xi. p. 42), which is evidently abstracted from the same materials, and is subjoined to the account of the Isle of Man written by James, Earl of Derby.

Notwithstanding general agreement as to the main facts between Rutter's narrative, as thus abridged, and the following Diary, there are many differences (pointed out in the notes) which argue their being compiled from distinct materials; and three persons have been named, as probable authors of this Diary,—Colonel Chisenhale, Bishop Brideoake, and Major Halsall.

CHISENHALE, the author of *Catholike History*, is the only known literary character among the military defenders of Lathom. The journalist, however, praises his "knowne courage" and his "mercy mingled with valour." Two centuries have made a difference in feelings; and a pamphleteer of 1644 might not be fastidiously delicate when writing from a soldier's notes, and Chisenhale himself had no small spice of vanity. Nevertheless, such objection would have its weight against mere probable conjecture.

BRIDEOAKE (afterwards Bishop of Chichester through the interest of the Duchess of Portsmouth, and one of Lord Derby's chaplains) is stated by Antony Wood to have been resident in Lathom during the entire siege, where he "did good service." Mr. Whatton (*History of Manchester School*, p. 188) considers, and not improbably, that we may be indebted to him for part of the Journal of the Siege.

HALSALL has been conjectured to be the author by a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in consequence of the Ashmolean copy of the Diary being seemingly in his handwriting, with the words "wherein I was wounded, Edward Halsall," appearing in the margin. Halsall was only seventeen years of age at the time of the Leaguer.

All these parties are noticed in the brief memoirs in the Appendix.

As to the *date* of the Diary—be the *authorship* whose it may—it is necessarily *subsequent* to the storming of Bolton in May 1644, which it records. From the concluding passages, where the writer exults in Rupert's sanguinary vengeance, and in the death of Bootle, referred as matter of triumph to his noble master's hand, and in the *perpetual* memorial of the Bolton banners temporarily suspended as trophies of victory in the hall destined to such speedy and complete ruin, there can be little doubt of its being written before the reverses which rapidly followed, and almost certainly before the spring of 1645-6, when Lathom, described as entire in one of the concluding paragraphs, was scarcely allowed to continue as a ruin.

It remains to speak of the castellated mansion itself.

We have no account of the earlier Hall of Lathom, the seat of the Lathoms, and their successors the Stanleys, which through successive chivalrous ages has seen so many a noble train leave its portals for the tournament or the battle. It is, however, certain that about 1496 the more ancient pile made way for a more celebrated successor, within which, in the words of the old poem, might "be lodged kyngys three," and which in later days was the residence of that Earl with whose death (in Camden's words) "the glory of English hospitality seemed to fall asleep."

This later building—the fortress existing in 1644—is said to have furnished Henry VII, who visited his father-in-law Earl Thomas shortly after its erection, with the first ideas of his new palace at Richmond. It is generally supposed that its principal gateway is represented in carvings attached to the stall of James Stanley, Bishop of Ely, in the Collegiate Church of Manchester, of which he was warden; and there can be little doubt of the carving referring to *Lathom Hall* (and most probably to the later Hall) from the circumstance of the Stanley legend being represented in a tree, and a *rebus* of masons or stone-cutters (termed *Lathomi* and *Latomi*, in mediæval Latin) approaching the gateway below, which has *two* towers and machicolated battlements.

We learn, however, from a poem appended by Weber to his republication of the ballad of *Flodden Field*, that this "bright bower of Lathom" had "nine towers on high," and "nine in the utter walls." Dr. Whitaker somewhat fancifully pursues the illustration of this in his *Richmondshire* (ii. 254); but without conjecturing too closely, it is easy to conceive the appearance of a moated outer court, with a turreted gateway and other towers in the walled circuit; and within this an embattled mansion, also crowned with turrets, forming an inner court, and the Eagle Tower rising predominant. A print in Mr. Roby's elegant work on Lancashire traditions, embodies this architectural vision, and gives an excellent idea of the surrounding district.

It is not easy or important to determine whether the *nine* towers of the outer walls included those of the gateway or otherwise. *Seven* are named in the close of this diary as constituting their strength, and *seven* are alluded to in the scoff of the Puritan minister mentioned in an earlier part of it.

*Seven towers* are also mentioned and *named* in the sale of the materials by the Parliament (*Seacome*, 161), the Eagle Tower, the Tower of Madness, &c.; but as a part only of the materials was thus sold, the document gives no information to remedy the confusion. Much was allowed to be carried away,—part of the timber was used for its lord's scaffold,—and Dr. Whitaker identified part of the painted glass as being lately in existence at Bowling Hall, in Yorkshire.

It is presumed that Rutter's account subjoined[1] is a faithful picture of the mansion in its first siege; in its second, regular bastions and outworks had been added under Rupert's directions. The subsequent history of Lathom House is irrelevant to the object of the present compilation, and will be found in any topographical account of Lancashire.

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[1] "As to the situation of Lathom House, it stands upon a flat, boggy, and spumous ground, encompassed with a wall of two yards thick, without which is a mote of eight yards wide and two yards deep; upon the bank of which mote, betwixt the wall and the graff, was a strong palisado throughout. Upon the walls were also nine towers flanking them, and on each tower six pieces of ordinance, which played three one way and three another; besides these, there was in the middle of the house a high tower, called the Eagle Tower. The gate-house also being strong and lofty building, stood at the entrance of the first court; upon the top of all which towers stood the choicest marksmen (keepers, fowlers, and the like), who shrewdly galled the enemy, and cut off divers of their officers in the trenches." (Peck's *Desidera Cur.* vol. 2, cap. xi. p. 43.)

# XXXVIII.

## A BRIEFE JOURNALL OF THE SEIGE AGAINST LATHOM.

THE Earle of *Derby* in the rise of this rebellion having on his own charges brought up 3000[1] of his best men and armes to the King's standard, w$_{th}$ purpose to have attended his sacred Ma$^{ty}$ in person, was at the request of the truely noble Sir *Gilbert Haughton* and others sent backe for *Lancashire* by his Ma$^{tys}$ expresse com'and, where with naked men or thinly armed hee sustained the fury of the Rebells, and kept the field ag$^{t}$ them for 7 monethes together, storming sev'all of their townes, and defeating them in sundry battles, himself in every assault and skirmish chargeing in the front to encourage his souldiers with exemplary resoluc'on when the multitude of the enemy exceeded his number by the advantage of 2 or 3 to 1, till his Lo$^{p}$ unhappily called to crush the thriveing sedition in *Cheshire*, withdrew his Horse into that County.

[1] The Lord Mullineux his Reg$^{t}$. and S$^{r}$. Gilbert Gerard's out of Lanc', Sir Tho. Salisbury's out of Wales.

The Enemy now spyeing an opportunity for action in his absence,[2] drew out their garrisons, and with theire whole strength assaulted the towne of *Preston*, which not yet fortyfyed, and suddenly surprized, notwithstanding the endeavours and resolute resistance of Sir *Gilbert Haughton*, the *Maior*, and other gentlemen, was lost to the Enemy. Upon his Lo$^{ps}$ return he found himselfe straitned to a narrow compasse; yet opposing loyal thoughts to dangers, and labouring to keepe life in the busines by speedy action, hee withdrew into the field, and marched above 20 myles into the enemyes' countrey, taking *Lancaster*, and regayneing *Preston* by assault, when the Rebells with a numerous army were within 6 houres march pursuing him. After this his Lo$^{p}$ giving 2 or 3 dayes to refresh his souldiers, toyld out with 3 dayes restles service, the Enemy got fresh supplies, from *Yorkshire*, *Cheshire*, *Staffordshire*, and *Derbyshire*, soe that now again swell'd into a numerous body, they attempt an assault of *Wigan*, which with little service was unfortunately lost, ere his Lo$^{p}$ could come to its releefe; whereof her Ma$^{ty}$, then att *Yorke*, haveing intelligence, sent expresse com'and to his Lo$^{p}$ not to engage his army in any service, till she sent him ayde, w$^{ch}$ his Lo$^{p}$ expected a fortnight every day; but being disappointed in his hopes, and the enemy growen insolent by his stillnes, hee was moved by the Lord *Mullineux*, Sir *Thomas Tildsley*, and other gentlemen with him, to repayre to the Queen in person, to hasten the promised supplyes, when (after a fortnight's attendance) fell out that unfortunate surprize of the Lord *Goreing* in *Wakefield*, which utterly disinabled her Ma$^{ty}$ to spare him any releefe, which the Governor of *Warrington* (Col. *Norris*) understanding, after 5 dayes siedge, gave up the towne (the greatest key of the County) to the enemy, and all his Lo$^{ps}$ forces then w$^{th}$ the Lord *Mullineux* and Col. *Tildsley* marched down to *York*.[1]

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[1] Collins, in his *Baronetage* (Edit. 1720, 1, 26) distinctly states that Richard Lord Molineux and his brother Caryl "raised" for the King's "Service two Regiments, one of horse and the other of foot. The word *raised* may be used in the sense in which Sir Tho. Tyldesley is praised in his memorial at Wigan for "*raising* Regiments of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons; or he might raise Regiments distinct from that mentioned in the text. Lord Derby's *own statement* agrees with the Diary as to *numbers*—"this I know there were 3000 good men of *my raysing* went forth of *Lancashire* and other places of my Lieutenancie." Peck, *Des. Cur.* 2, c. xi. p. 22.

[2] The details of all the proceedings here mentioned will be found in the preceding Tracts.

Att the same time her Ma$^{tie}$ received intimation of the Scottish designe for the invasion of England, with signification of their intention to shipp from the north of Ireland for the Isle of Man, and soe for England, wherefore it was the Queenes pleasure expressly to com'and him for the Island, to prevent theire passage that way.

Att his arrival there he found the whole countrey in sedition and insurrection, some turbulent spirits, tutored by theire brethren the Scotts, haveing taught the com'ons the new tricke of rebellion, under the masque of defensive armes for the preservation of theire religion and libertyes; and indeed this subtill poyson had soe wrought in that litle bodye, that the whole countrey was swelled to one tumour, which by all symptoms had broke out in 3 dayes with the death of the Bishoppe and Governour, and the loss of the Island.

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[1] This part of the memoir relative to Lord Derby's visit to York, the march of his remaining troops in that direction, and his mission to the Isle of Man, may be compared with the Earl's own statements, Peck, *Des. Cur.* cap. xi, 22, with which they fully agree, and with the extracts in p. 99, preceding.

To prevent this rupture his Lo$^{p}$ presently raised the Horse of the Countrey, apprehended the persons of theire seditious agents, doeing execuc'on upon some, imprisoning others, and strikeing a general terrour into all, wh$^{ch}$ suddenly calm'd the madnes of the people, and drew a face of quyett upon the countrey.

Yett to remove the ground of this disease required both skill and tyme, as well to prevent a relapse of the countrymen, as an invasion of the Scotts, who still promise for conscience-sake to abett them in theire rebellion, it being the good fortune of that ungrateful nation to be esteemed angells for troubling and poysoning all waters.

His Lo$^{p}$ by the Queenes com'and haveing spent much tyme in this unhappy busines, is at last called backe by his Ma$^{ty}$ to attend his Parliam$^{t}$ att *Oxford*, and att his returne to England is welcom'd with the newes of A SIEDGE AGAINST HIS LADY, which had been long in consultation, and now is matured for action.

Upon the surrender of *Warrington*, May 27, 1643, a sum'ons came from Mr. *Holland*, Governor of *Manchester*, to the Lady *Derby*, to subscribe to the propositions of parliament, or yield up LATHOM HOUSE; but her ladyship denyed both—shee would neither tamely give up her house, nor purchase her peace with the losse of her honour. But being then in noe condition to provoke a potent and malitious enemy, and seeing noe possibility of speedy assistance, shee desired a peaceable abode in her own house, referring all her Lord's estate to theire dispose, with promise onely to keepe soe many men in armes, as might defend her person and house from the outrages of theire com'on souldiers, which was hardly obtained.

From this time she endured a continued siedge, onely with the opennes of her gardens and walkes, confined as a prisoner to her owne walls, with the liberty of the castle-yard, suffering the sequestrac'on of her whole estate, dayly affronts and indignityes of unworthy persons, besides the unjust and undeserved censures of some that wore the name and face of friends; all which shee patiently endured, well knoweing it noe wisdome to quarrell with an evill she could not redresse. Therefore, to remove all pretences of vyolence or force against her, she restrayned her garrison souldiers from all provocation and annoyance of the enemy, and soe by her wisdome kept them att a more favourable distance, for the space of allmost a whole year. *Rigby* all this tyme, restles in his malice, sought all occasion to disturb her quyett, sending out his troopes to plunder her next neighbours, and surprize such of the Kinges good subjectes, as had fled unto her for safety. In the beginning of February, her garrison-souldiers had a skirmish with a troope of his horse com'anded by Captain *Hindley*, wherein they rescued some of her friends, takeing prisoners Lieutenant *Dandy*, first wounded, his Cornet, and some troopers. By his unjust report of this action, and some other slight visitations within muskett-shot of her house, hee wrought on S^r^ *Tho. Fairfax* and the rest of the Parliam^t^ forces to his owne purpose.

On Saturday, the 24th of February, it was resolved in a councill of the Holy State att *Manchester*, after many former debates and consultations to the same purpose, that M^r^ *Ashton* of *Midleton*, M^r^ *Moore* of *Banckhall*, and M^r^ *Rigby* of *Preston* (3 Parliam^t^ Colonells), should with all speed come ag^st^ *Lathom*, of which her La^p^ had some broken intelligence on Sunday Mornyng, and therefore dispatcht a messenger to her secret friend, one acquainted with their determinations, to receave fuller satisfaction, in the meane time useing all diligence and care to furnish her house with provision and men, which was a hard worke, considering shee had been debarred of her estate for a whole yeare. Yett in these straites she used not the least vyolence to force releefe from any of her neighbours, though some of them were as bad tenants as subjects, but with her owne small stocke, and the charity of some few friends, by the industry of her carefull servant M^r^ *Broome*, provided herself to bear the worst of a cruell enemy.

The messenger returned on Monday. Shee had assurance of their designe, who were then on their march as farre as *Bolton*, *Wigan*, and *Standish*, with pretence to goe for *Westmerland*, to carry on the multitude blindfold ag^t^ a house that theire fathers and themselves, whilst their eyes were open, had ever honoured, reputing LATHOM, in more innocent tymes, both for magnificence and hospitality, THE ONELY COURT OF THE NORTHERNE PARTS OF THIS KINGDOM, when the good men would in meere love vent theire harmles treason, "GOD SAVE THE EARLE OF DERBY AND THE KING." But theire factious ministers, very dutyfull sonnes of the Church of England, made the pulpitt speake theire designe aloud, one whereof, *Bradshaw*, to the dishonour of that house (*Brazennose*) which had given him more sober and pious foundations, tooke occasion, before his patrons at *Wigan*, to prophane the fourteenth verse of the fifteenth chapter of Jeremy, from thence by as many markes and signes as ever hee had given of Antichrist, proving the Lady *Derby* to bee the scarlett whore and the whore of *Babylon*, whose walls he made as flatt and as thin as his discourse. Indeed, before he dispatch't his prophecy hee thump't em downe, reserveing the next verse to bee a triumph for the victor.

Feb. 27, 1643-4. On Tuesday the enemy tooke their quarters round the house, at the distance of a myle—2 or 3 att the furthest.

Feb. 28. On Wednesday, Cap^t^. *Markland* brought a letter from S^r^ *Thomas Fairfax*, and with it an ordinance of Parliament, the one requiring her Ladyship to yield up Lathom House upon such honourable condic'ons as hee should propose, and the other declareing the mercy of the Parliam^t^ to receave the Earle of *Derby* would hee submit himselfe, in which business S^r^ *Tho. Fairfax* promises to bee a faithfull instrument. To which her La^p^ gave in answer, "She much wondered that S^r^ *Tho. Fairfax* wold require her to give up her Lord's house without any offence on her part done to the Parliam^t^: desireing in a busines of such weight, that struck both att her religion and life, that soe nearly concerned her Sov'aigne, her Lord, and her whole posteritie, she might have a weekes considerac'on, both to resolve the doubts of conscience, and to advice in matter of law and honour."

Not that her La$^{p}$ was unfixt in her owne thoughts, but indeavouring to gayne tyme by demurhes and protracc'ons of the busines, which happly the good Knight suspecting, denyed her the tyme desired, moveing her La$^{p}$ to come to *Newparke,* a house of her Lords a quarter of a myle from *Lathom,* and to come thither in her coache (no meane favour, beleeve it), where himselfe and his colonells would meete her for a full discourse and transaction of the busines.

This her La$^{p}$ flatly refused, with scorne and anger, as an ignoble and uncivill moc'on, returneing only this answer, "That, notwithstanding her present condic'on, she remembred both her Lord's honour and her owne birth, conceaving it more knightly that S$^{r}$ *Thomas Fairfax* shold waite upon her, than shee upon him."

Thursday (Feb. 29) and Friday (March 1) were spent in l'res and messages, his generallship att last requireing free accesse for two of his colonells, and assurance of safe returne, unto which her La$^{pp}$ condescended.[1]

On Saturday M$^{r}$ *Ashton* and M$^{r}$ *Rigby* vouchsafed to venture their p'sons into Lathom House, being authorized by the Generall to propound the following condic'ons.

1. That all armes and ammunition of war shall bee forthwith surrend'red into the hands of Sir *Thomas Fairfax.*

2. That the Countesse of *Derby,* and all the p'sons in *Lathom* House shall be suffred to depart, w$^{th}$ all theire goods to *Chester,* or any other of the enemyes quarters, or upon submission to the orders of parliament to theire owne houses.

3. That the Countesse w$^{th}$ all her meniall servants shall bee suffred to inhabite in *Knowsley,* and to have twenty muskets allowed for her defence, or to repaire to her husband in the *Isle of Man.*

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[1] The Diary here differs from *Seacome's* Account, p. 104. Sir Thomas Fairfax is there stated to proceed, as requested, to Lathom House, for the purpose of personal conference with the Countess, who, by the advice of Major Farmer, makes the most ostentatious display possible of her soldiers and means of defence, to "give some terror to the enemy."

4. That the Countesse for the present, untill the Parliam$^{t}$ be acquainted with it, shall have allowed her for her maintenance all the lands and revenues of the Earle her husband, within the Hundred of *Derby*, and that the Parliament shall bee moved to continue this allowance.

These condic'ons her La$^{p}$ rejected, as in part dishonorable, in part uncerteyne, adding withall, she knewe not how to treat with them who had not power to p'forme theire owne offers, till they had first moved the Parliam$^{t}$, telling them it were a more sober course, first to acquaint themselves with the pleasure of the Parliam$^{t}$, and then to move accordingly. But for her part, shee wold not move the good gentlemen to petition for her. Shee wold esteem it a greater favour to p'mitt her to continue in her present humble condition.

The two colonells being blancke in their treaty, spent their stay in wise instructions to her L$^{ap}$ and unjust accusations of her friends and servants, which shee not onely cleared, but nobly and sharplye returned upon their religious agents, soe that the grave men being disappointed, both of their witt and malice, returned as empty as they came.

Sunday was theire Sabbath. On Monday M$^{r}$ *Ashton* came agayne alone with power to receave her La$_{ps}$ propositions, and convey them to his Generall (a notable and trusty employment), which came in these terms.

1. Her Ladyship desired a monethes tyme for her quyett continuance in *Lathom*, and then herselfe and children, her freinds, souldiers and servants, with all her goods, armes and ordinance, to have free transport to the *Isle of Man*, and in the meane tyme that she shold keepe garrison in her house for her owne defence.

2. Shee promised that neither dureing her stay in the countrey, nor after her comeing to the *Isle of Man*, any of the armes shold bee imployed against the Parliam$^{t}$.

3. That dureing her stay in the countrey, noe souldier should be quartered in the Lordshipp of *Lathome*, nor at *Knowsley House*.

4. That none of her tennants, neighbours and freinds then in

the house with her, shold, assisting her, suffer in their persons or estates, after her departure.

In the first of these she struck at more time: in the second shee understood *the Parliament of the* 3 *estates at Oxford,* knowing noe other: in the third shee laboured to remove impediments that might hinder the victualling of her house: in the fourth shee gave a collour to her depart, and content to her souldiers, of whom in her treaty she showed an honourable care.

These propositions returned by M^r^ *Ashton* were interpreted to the right sense, being apprehended too full of policy and danger to bee allowed, as onely beating at more tyme and meanes, that her Ladyshipp might use that opportunity to confirm herself in her fastnes. And therefore in his answer Sir *Thomas* thus qualified them to a better understanding.

1. That the Countesse of *Derby* shall have the tyme shee desyred, and then liberty to transport her armes and goods to the *Isle* of *Man*, excepting the canon, which shall continue there for the defence of the house.

2. That her Ladyshipp by 10 o'clock to-morrow disband all her souldiers, except her meniall servants, and receave an officer, and 40 Parliament souldiers, for her guard.

This, as the last residue of all their councells, with some terrible presages of the danger shee stood in, was delivered to her Ladyshipp by one *Morgan*, one of Sir *Thomas* his colonells, a litle man, short, and peremptory, who met with staidnes to coole his heat; and had the honor to carry backe this last answer, for her Ladyshipp could scrue them to noe more delayes.[1]

"That she refused all their articles, and was truely happy they had refused hers, protesting shee had rather hazard her life, than offer the like again. THAT THOUGH A WOMAN AND A STRANGER, DIVORCED FROM HER FRIENDS, AND ROB'D OF HER ESTATE, she was ready to receive their utmost vyolence, trusting in God both for protection and deliverance.[1]

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[1] Seacome states this summons to have been brought by a trumpet sent by Fairfax, who had been deceived into hopes of starving out the Garrison without bloodshed, and for that reason had allowed time to pass which the Countess had used for strengthening her garrison. The hopes of Sir Thomas are stated to have been founded on false information as to the scanty supply in Lathom, which had been purposely given by Archdeacon Rutter with this precise object, as if in confidence, to a Parliamentary Captain who had been his schoolfellow and accompanied Sir T. F. to Lathom Hall.

Being now disappointed in their plot, who expected a quicke dispatch with the afflicted Lady by a tame surrender of her house, having scattered very fearfull apprehensions of their great gunnes, their morter-piece, their fire-works, and their engineers, after all their consults, they prepare for action, when they find her Ladyshipp as feareless of their empty terrors, as, carefull to prevent a reall danger, shee is willing to understand the power of the enemy, and studious to prevent it, leaving nothing with her eye to be excused afterwards by fortune or negligence, and adding to her former patience a most resolved fortitude. "Ne minimo quidem casui locum relinqui debuisse." Cæs. Com. lib. 6. Otho in Tacit. lib. 1.

The next morneing discovered some of the enemyes nightworkes, which were begun about musquett-shott from the house, in a stoopeing, declineing ground, that their pioneers by the nature of the place might be secured from our ordinances on the towers, and soe in an orbe or ringe-worke cast up much earthe everye day by the multitude of countrey people forced to the service.

March 7, 8, 9, 10. After three dayes, finding a fixednes and resolution in her La$^{pp}$ still to keep her house for the service of his Ma$^{tie}$ ag$^{t}$ all his enemyes, on Sunday they imploy 6 neighbours of the best rancke with a petition to her La$^{pp}$, haveing thrust a forme into theire hands, and prepared their heads with instructions, as by confession now appeares; "That in duty to her Ladyshipp, and love to their countrey, they most humbly beseech her to prevent her owne p'sonal dangers, and the impoverishing the whole countrey, which she might do if shee pleased to slacken something of her severe resolution, and in part condescended to the offers of the gentlemen."

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[1] The reply in the other narative is "*That as she had not lost her regard for the* CHURCH *of* ENGLAND, *nor her allegiance to her* PRINCE, *nor her faith to her* LORD, *she could not therefore as yet give up that* HOUSE. *That they must never hope to gain it till she had either lost all these, or her life in defence of them.*"

On this, Fairfax, being commanded to other service by the Parliament, is stated to have left Colonel Egerton (of Shaw) to command in chief, with Major Morgan as principal engineer.

Theise her Ladyship received with all curtesy, discourseing unto them the nature of former treatyes, and the order of her proceedings, and this soe smoothly and comeingly, that the good men were satisfied, and had litle to say, but *God bless the King and the Earle of Derby.* For answer to their paper, she told them, it was more fitt that they petition the gentlemen who robb'd and spoyl'd their country, than her, who desyred only a quyett stay in her owne house, for the preservation not spoyle of her neighbours. One of the sixe, of more ability and integrity than the rest, reported the whole business of the answer, and theire entertainment, as a true subject to his Ma$^{tie}$ and a faythful friend to her La$^{pp}$, with which the noble Colonels were moved to new propositions, in meer mercy, if you'll beleeve 'em, to her La$^{pp}$ and her children. The next day therefore Capt$^{n}$ *Ashurst,* a man that deserves a fairer character than the rest, for his even and civil behaviour, brought a new missive to her La$^{pp}$, in theise terms:

1. That all former condic'ons be waived.
2. That the Countess of *Derby*, and all p'sons in the house, with all armes, ordinance, and goods, shall have liberty to march to what part of the kingdome they please, and yield up the house to S$^{r}$ *Tho. Fairfax.*
3. That the armes shold never be imployed ag$^{t}$ the Parliament.
4. That all in the house excepting a 100$^{d}$ p'sons should leave it, and the rest within ten dayes.

The message read, her La$^{p}$ p'ceaved they began to coole in their enterprize, and therefore to lend 'em some new heate, returned this answer by the Captayne, that she scorned to be a ten dayes prisoner to her owne house, judging it more noble, whilst shee could, to p'serve her liberty by armes, than to buy a peace with slavery: "and what assurance," said shee, "have I ever of liberty, or the p'formance of any condic'on, when my strength is gone? I have receaved, under the hands of some eminent personages, that yo'r Generall is not

Pax servien' gravior qu'm liber' bell'. L. in libr. 3.

very conscientious in the p'formance of his subscriptions, so that from him I must expect an unsinewed and faithles agreement.[1] 'Tis dangerous treating when the sword is given to the enemies hand." And therefore her Ladiship added, "that not a man shold part her house, that she wold keepe it, whilst God enabled her, against all the Kings enemyes, and in breefe, that she wold receave no more messages without an expresse of her Lords pleasure, whoe shee now heard was returned from the *Isle of Man*, and to whom shee referr'd them for the transacc'on of the whole busines, considering that frequent treatyes are a discouragement to the souldier besieged, as a yieldance to some want or weakness within, and soe the first key that com'only opens the gate to the enemy."

To seconde and confirme her answer, the nexte day, beinge Tuesday, a $100^{d}$ foote, com'anded by Captain *Farmor*, a Scotchman, a faithfull and gallant souldier, with Lieut. *Brethergh* ready to second him in any service, and some 12 horse, our whole cavallerie, com'anded by Lieut. *Key*, sallied out upon the enemy: and because the sequel of every busines dependeth upon the beginning, the Captayne determined to doe something that might remember the enemye there were souldiers within. He marcht up to their workes without a shoote, and then fireing upon them in their trenches, they quickly left their holes, when Lieut. *Key*, haveing wheel'd about with his horse from another gate, fell upon them in their flighte with much execuc'on; they slewe about 30 men, tooke 40 armes, one drum, and 6 prisoners. The maine retreate was that day made good by Capt. *Ogle*, a gentleman industrious to returne the curtesie w'ch some of theire party shewed to him when he was taken prisoner in the battell at *Edgehill.* The other passage was carefully secur'd by Capt$^{n}$ *Rawstorne.* Not one of ours that day was slaine or wounded.

By the prisoners wee understood the purpose of the enemy was to starve the house, the com'anders having courage to pyne a lady, not to fight with her.

The foure dayes following (13, 14, 15, 16) passed without much

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[1] Pax damnifica, pax infida, pax incerta.

acc'on on either side, saveing that the garrison gave them some night alarums, $w^{ch}$ to some minister'd an occasion of running away, and to others of belyeing their owne courage, that they had repulst the garrison souldiers, and slayne thousands out of hundreds.

17th. On Sunday night the Com'anders under her Ladiship resolved to try their watches, and therefore, at 3 o'clock in the morning, Capt. *Chisnall*, a man of knowne courage and resoluc'on, Lieut. *Brethergh*, and Lieut. *Heape*, $w^{th}$ one 30 musqueteers, issued out of the backe gate to surprize the enemy in their new trenches; but they discovering some of the light matches ran faster than the Captayne or his souldiers could pursue, secureing their flight in a wood close by, where, not willing to engage his souldiers in unnecessary dangers, hee left 'em, onely killing 2 or 3, and chaseing the rest in flight.

Theise sallyes and allarums soe diseased the enemye that theire work went slowly on, having been 3 weekes and yet not cast up one mount for ordinance; but not for theire owne security, to keepe off our men with their cannon, they hasten the busines, with the losse of many mens lives, compell'd to doe desperate service. It mov'd both wonder and pitty to see multitudes of poore people soe enslav'd to the reformers' tirranny, that they would stand the muskett and lose their lives to save nothing, soe neare are theise to the times complained of by the historian, when they would noe less feare men for theire vices, than they once honor'd them for their virtues. (Tacit. lib. 1.)

19, 20. On Tuesday night they brought up one peece of canon; Wednesday morneing gave us some sport. They then played theire canon 3 shootes, the ball $24^{li}$. They first tryed the wall, $w^{hch}$ being found proof, without much yeildance or the least impression, they afterwards shott higher to beate downe pinacles and turretts, or else to *please the women that came to see the spectacle.* The same day Sir *Tho. Fairfax* sent her Ladishipp a letter that he had received from the *Earle* of *Derby*, wherein his $Lo^{pp}$ desired an honorable and free passage for his Lady and children, if shee so pleased, being loath to expose them to the uncertaine hazard of a long seidge, especially considering the roughnesse and inhumanitie of the enemy, that joyned pride and malice, ignorance and passion against her: not knowinge, by reason of his long absence, either how his house was provided with victualls and ammunition, or strengthened for resistance; and therefore desireinge to have only the hasty condition for the house, till it should please his Hon$^{r}$ to yeild him release, and to preserve his Lady and children from the mercy of cruell men, which indeed was the desire of all her friends. But she had more noble thoughts within, which still kindled and increased att the apprehension of danger; who, returninge an acknowledgement of that first courtesye of S$^{r}$ Tho. Fairefax, after some discourse with the messenger, one Jackson, a canny and zealous chaplaine to M$^{r}$ Rigby, gave backe this answere: She willingly wold submitt herselfe to her Lords comands, and therefore wil'd the generall to treate with him; but till she was assured it was his Lo$^{pps}$ pleasure, she wold neither yeild the house, nor herselfe desert it, but waite for the event according to the good will of God. And with the like signification she dispatcht a messenger to his Lo$^{pp}$ in Chester, which was sent out by an allarum to open a passage through theire gards and centries.

21, 22, 23, 24. The 4 dayes followinge were spent in allarums and excursions, without much businesse of service.

25. On Monday they gave us 7 shott of theire culvering and demi-cannon, one whereof, by some slanke in the way, entred the greate gates, which were presently made good by the opposition of beds, and such like impediments, to stay the bullett from rangeing the court.

28. On Thursday 3 cannons: that day the enemy, capable of any impression of feare, tooke a strong allarum, fightinge one ag$^{t}$ another, and in the action 2 pieces of canon att the syege.

29. The next day one of our men, rashly presentinge himselfe w$^{th}$ his body above a tower, was shott to a present death. In the afternoone, they played 4 cannons, one whereof, levelled to dismount one of our ordinance upon the greate gates, strucke the battlements upon one of our marke-men ready to discharge att the cannoneere, and crusht him to deathe.

31. On Sunday night 2 canons mounted to the lodgeing chambers, intending bylike to catche us napping, as our men had often caught them.

Ap$^{r}$ 1$^{o}$. On Munday, in the day and night, 6 canon loden w$^{th}$ chaine shott and barres of iron.

2. The next day they played their morter peice, 3 times loaden w$^{th}$ stones, 13 inches in diameter, 80$^{li}$ in weight. It was planted about halfe musket shott southwest from the house, on a riseing earthe, convenyently giveing the engineere a full p'spect of the whole buildeinge. Their worke to secure it was orbicular, in forme of a full moone, 2 yards and a half of rampier above the ditch.

4. On Thursday they shott one stone and one granadoe, which overplayd the house. Chosen men upon the guards, standing ready with greene and wett hides to quench the burneing, had their skill, for they wanted no malice, enabled them to cast fireworks.

5. Haveing hitherto met so unprosperous successe in their holy worke, the 2 Collonells, M$^{r}$ *Ashton* and M$^{r}$ *Moore,* cast a shew of religion over their execrable work; and like those devout men in the poetts,[1] by publike and private supplications call God to assist them in their merciles practizes, to which purpose they issue out com'andes to all their ministers for a general and humble imprecac'on in the following form:

*To all Ministers and Parsons in Lancashire, well wishers to our successe against Lathom House, theise.*

Forasmuch as more than ordinary obstrucc'ons have from the beginning of this p'sent service ag$^{t}$ *Lathom* House interposed our proceedings, and yet still remaine, which cannot otherwise be removed, nor our successe furthered, but onely by devine assistance, it is therefore our desires to the ministers, and other well affected persons of this county of *Lancaster,* in publike manner, as they shall please, to com'end our case to God, that as wee are appoynted to the s$^{d}$ imployment, soe much tending to the settleing of our p'sent peace in theise parts, soe the Almighty would crowne our weake endeavours with speedy successe in the said designe.

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[1] . . . Nocturnus adulter,
Tempora Santonico velans adoperta cucullo.
Juv. viii. 145.

Tacito mala vota susurro
Concipimus.
Lucan (Pharsal. v. 104).

. . . . Pulchra Laverna,
Da mihi fallere, da justum sanctumque videri.
Horat. (Ep. xvi. lib. 1, l. 60).

Quæ nisi seductis nequeas committere Divis.
Persius (Sat. ii. l. 4).

RAPH ASHTON,
*Ormskirk*, *Apr.* 5, 1644. JOHN MOORE.

The 4 dayes following were on theire parts slept out in this pious exercise: on Wednesday our men resolved to waken them. About 11 o'clock, Capt$^{n}$ *Farmor* and Capt$^{n}$ *Mullineux Rattcliffe*, Lieu. *Penckett*, Lieut$^{t}$ *Woorrale*, w$^{th}$ 140 souldiers, sallyed out at a postern gate, beate the enemy from all theire worke and batteries, wh$^{ch}$ were now cast up round the house, nail'd all theire canon, killed about 50 men, took 60 armes, one collours, and 3 drumes; in which acc'on Capt. *Rattcliffe* deserves this remembrance, that w$^{th}$ 3 souldiers, the rest of his squadron being scattered w$^{th}$ execuc'on of the enemy, he cleared 2 sconces, and slew 7 men w$^{th}$ his owne hand. Lieut. *Woorral*, ingageing himselfe in another worke among 50 of the enemy, bare the fury of all, till Capt$^{n}$ *Farmor* releeved him, who, to the wonder of us all, came off without any dangerous wound.[1] The sally port was this day warded by Capt$^{n}$ *Chisnall*, who with fresh men stood ready for succour of ours, had they been putt to the extremity; but they bravely marched round the works, and came in att the great gates, where Capt. Ogle w$^{th}$ a p'ty of musketeers kept open the passage. Capt. *Rawstorne* hadd the charge of the musketeers upon the walls, which hee plac'd to the best advantage to vexe the enemy in their flighte: Capt$^{n}$ *Foxe*, by a collours from the Eagle Tower, gave signall when to march and when to retreate, according to the motions of the enemy, which hee observed att a distance. In all this service, wee had but one man mortally wounded, and wee tooke onely one prisoner, an officer, for intelligence. In former sallyes some prisoners were taken, and by exchange releast, Coll. *Ashton* and *Rigby* promising to sett at liberty as many of the King's friends then prisoners in *Lancaster*, *Manchester*, *Preston*, and other places proposed by her

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[1] Plus animi est inferenti quam periculum propulsanti.—Cæs. Com.

Ladishipp; but most unworthily they broke condic'ons, it suiting well with their religion neither to observe faith with God nor men; and this occasioned a greater slaughter than either her La$^{pp}$ or the Captaynes desired, because wee were in no condic'on to keepe prisoners, and knew the Co'manders wold never release 'em but upon base or dishonorable terms.

The same night they played a sacre twice, to tell us they had cannon that wold speake, though our men had endeavoured to steele up all theire lippes. This whole night was with them one continued allarum, nothing but shoutes and cryes amongst them, as if the cavaleers had still been upon them.

12. On Friday they sent us too shottes from their morter peice, which our men had nailed and battered with smith's hammers, but it had too wide a mouth to bee stopt. This day a chance bullet from the sacre through the claye walls entred the window of my Ladyes chamber, but was too weake to fright her from the lodgeing.

13. On Saturday theire demi cannon opened againe, but spake but once very lowe, some of the steele nayles yet sticking in her teeth, and the gunners also suspecting poyson in her belly.

15. On Monday they played their morter peece 5 times with stones, and with granadoe, which fell shorte of the house in a walke neere the Chappell-tower. Some pieces of the shell, 2 inches thick, flewe over the walls, and were taken up in the furthest parts of the house.

16. Tuesday morning they had a hott alarum, haveing not yet quitt themselves of the fright they took at the last sally. They played their cannon twice, and theire muskett half one houre together. In requitall whereof, about 11 o'clock they played their morter peece with stone, and p'ceaving it strucke within the body of the house, they cast a granadoe att the same levell, which fell into an old court, strikeing above half a yard into the earth, yet rose again with such vyolence in the bursteing, that though its strength was much lessened, and deaded with earth, it shooke down the glasse, clay, and weaker buildings neere it, leaving only

the carcase of the walls standing about it, yet without hurt of any person, saveing that 2 woemen in a neere chamber had theire hands scorcht, to putt them in mind hereafter they were in siedge at *Lathom.*

The morter peece was now more terrible than formerly, insomuch that the captaynes, to prevent the souldiers feares, lodged in the upproomes within clay walles, as not esteeming the force of the granadoe: and one thing more now happily lent more courage to our men, that one of their engineers, mounting the rampier to see the fall of the granadoe, was happily slaine by a marksman from one of our towers.

On Saturday, they made 30 shootes of their demi canon and culverin, to batter a posterne-tower, some part whereof stoode without the mote and pallizadoes, yet soe fenced by a riseing ground that their ordinance tooke onely the battlements and a yard of wall, w$^{ch}$ was made good agayne the same night, with greater strength and safety for the musketeers then formerly. It was some requitall for the breach of a few stones that theire can'oneere was slaine through the porthole by one of our men from the tower. Havinge either done with the canon or canoneere, they now begin with the morter peece, w$^{ch}$ that afternoone they play'd five times, in the night twice w$^{th}$ stones and once w$^{th}$ granadoe, w$^{ch}$ alsoe by turneing of the gunner fell short of the house.

22. On Easter Monday they must needs shew the people some pastime, and therefore gave us the bullets, and then the noise of 9 canon and 2 periers, to heare the rabble shout. That night, two darke for acc'on, the captaynes sent out 2 or 3 firelocks, w$^{ch}$ strucke the whole night into alarums, soe that to their muskett they added one morter peece, and 2 cannon with chayne and small shott.

23. The next day was the second wakes, when *Rigby* must gratify the countrey for their 2000$^{li}$ with the battery of the Eagle Tower att *Lathom,* ag$^{t}$ w$^{ch}$ they playd their culverin and demi canon 23 tymes, w$^{ch}$ unhappily striking ag$^{t}$ a staircase forced a large breach. 2 of the bulletts entred her La$^{pps}$ chamber, w$^{ch}$ last made her La$^{pp}$ seeke a new lodgeing, with this protest, that she

would keepe the house, while there was building to cover her head. This action must needs proceeds eyther from pride or malice, it being noe furtherance to the takeing of the house to batter a tower that stood in the midst of it: but sure it was theire plot eyther to strike off one of the hornes of the Whore of Babylon, or els to levell one of her hills, the 7 *towres* in the devines sermon being easily found to bee the 7 *hills of Rome.* It saved the tower some buffetts that day that 2 of theire gunners were discharged of theire employment by our marksmen from the top of the same tower w^ch^ they were battering. The same night a strong alarum beate all their men to the canon, not to defend them, but themselves, which they bravely discharg'd, twice loaden with cartridge and chayne, against 2 lighted matches cast neere their workes in balls of clay.

24. On Wednesday they only gave us 3 periers and 2 canon. But now M^r^ *Rigby*, who undertooke the manage, and expected the glory of this enterprize, having wearyed his souldiers, wasted his powder, and emptyed himself of a good part of his exacted and plundered moneyes, finding her La^pp^ nothing to yield to his greate gunnes, but daily to beate and baffle his souldiers, is now for present fire and ruine. Hee was provided a new stock of granadoes, and intends to spend his powder and malice in them.

25. Thursday, hee sends his last message, as hee calls it, a furious su'mons to her La^pp^ to yield upp *Lathom House*, all the p'sons, goods, and arms within it, into his hands, to receave the mercy of the Parliam^t^, and to returne her finall answ^r^ the next day before 2 o'clock; w^ch^ her La^pp^ haveing read, with a brave indignation calls for the drum, and tells him, "a due reward for his paynes is to be hang'd upp at her gates; but," says she, "thou are but a foolish instrument of traytors pride: carry this answ~r~ backe to Rigby," (with a noble scorne teareing the paper in his sight), "*Tell that insolent rebell, hee shall neither have p'sons, goods, nor house: when our strength and p'vision is spent, we shall find a fire more mercyfull than Rigby, and then if the providence of God p'vent it not, my goods and house shall burne in his sight: myselfe,*

*children, and souldiers, rather then fall into his hands, will seale our religion and loyalty in the same flame;*"[1] w$^{ch}$ being spoke aloud in her souldiers' hearing, they broke out into shouts and acclamations of joy, closeing all w$^{th}$ this generall voyce, "Wee'll dye for his Ma$^{tie}$ and your Honour—God save the King!"

The drum return'd: her La$^{pp}$ and the captaynes fell into consultation of a further answ$^{r}$ to that proud message. Something must be done, and now was the nicke and joynt of t̃ÿme, according to the observac'on of the historian, "that the chaunges of tymes are the mostt fit for brave attempts, and delayes they are dangerous, where softness and quyetnes draweth more danger then hazarding rashly.*

* Transitus rerum.--Tacit.lib. 1. Nec desperes nunc posse fieri, quod jam toties actum est. — Cæs. Comm.

The morter-peece was that that troubled us all. The litle ladyes had stomack to digest canon, but the stoutest souldiers had noe hearts for granadoes; and might not they att once free themselves from the continuall expectac'on of death?—"'Tis a hard choice," says young Piso, "either to kill, or bee kill'd," and this was our p'sent condic'on—either sheepishly to receave death, when they would send it upon our heads, or manfully returne it upon theire owne. At last it was resolved, notwithstanding a battery, and ordinance planted ag$^{t}$ every passage, to sally out the next morneing and venture for all.[2]

26. All things prepared, about 4 o'clock next morneing, Capt. *Chisnall* and Capt. *Foxe*, Lieut. *Brethergh*, Lieut. *Penkett*, Lieut. *Walthew*, and Lieut. *Worral*, are design'd for the service. Capt. *Ogle* had the maine guard, to secure a retreate att the southerne gate; Capt. *Rawstorne* has the charge of the sally gate, to secure our retreate on the east side; Capt$^{n}$ *Rattcliffe* has the care of the marksmen and musketeers upon the walls, to attend the approche

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[1] The reply as given by Seacome was "Trumpet," said she, "tell that insolent Rebel Rigby, that if he presumed to send any other summons to that place, she would hang up the messenger at the gates."

[2] The sally here made with the object of carrying away the mortar and spiking the cannon on the batteries, is divided by Seacome into two successive ones made with the same objects, and each successful. He also differs from the Diarist in placing both of these in point of time *before* the Countess's spirited reply to Rigby's Trumpet.

or vex the flight of the enemy. Capt$^{n}$ *Farmer*, with a reserve of fresh men, stands ready att the parade to releeve either Capt. in state of necessitye. All things thus dispos'd, Capt. *Chisnall* and 2 Lieuts. issues out att the easterne gate, and before hee was discover'd, gott under theire canon, marching straight upon the scouts, where they had planted their great gun. It cost him a light skirmish to gayne the fort: at last hee entred: many slayne, some prisoners, and some escaping. Now by the com'and of that battery the retreate being assured, Capt. *Foxe* seconds him w$^{th}$ much bravery, beateing upon their trenches from the easterne to the southwest point, till hee came to the work w$^{ch}$ secur'd the morter-peece, w$^{ch}$ being guarded w$^{th}$ 50 men, hee found sharpe service, forceing his way through muskett and canon, and beateing the enemy out of the sconce w$^{th}$ stones, his muskett, by reason of the high worke, being unserviceable. After a quarter of an houres hard service, his men gott the trench, and scal'd the rampier, where many of the enemy fledd, the rest were slayne. The sconce, thus won, was made good by a squadron of musketteers, which much annoyed the enemy, attempting to come upp agayne. The 2 maine works thus obtained, the 2 captaynes w$^{th}$ ease walked the rest of the round, whilst M$^{r}$ *Broome*, w$^{th}$ a companye of her La$^{pps}$ servants and some fresh souldiers, had a care to levell the ditch, and by a present devise, with ropes lifting the morter-peece to a low dragge, by strength of men drew it into the house, Capt. *Ogle* defending the passage ag$^{t}$ another companye of the enemye which play'd upon their retreate. The like endeavour was used to gayne theire greate gunnes; but lying beyond the ditch, and being of such bulke and weight, all our strength could not bringe them off before the whole army had fallen upon us; however our men tooke tyme to poyson all the canon round, if any thing will doe the feate, Capt. *Rawstorne* still defending the first passe ag$^{t}$ some offers of the enemy to come up by the wood.

This action continued an houre, with the losse of 2 men on our part, who, after they were mortally wounded, still fired upon the enemy, till all retreating. What number of the enemy were slayne is not easy to guesse. Besides the execuc'on done in theire trenshes, Capt. *Farmours* and Capt. *Rattcliffes* reserves, w$^{th}$ the best marksmen, play'd upon them from the walls with much slaughter, as they quitt theire holds. Our men brought in many armes, 3 drums, and but 5 prisoners, preserved by Capt. *Chisnall,* to shew that he had mercy as well as valour. One of theise was an assistant to their engineere *Browne,* who discovered to us the nature of theire trench, in which they had laboured 2 monethes, to draw away our water.

Theire first designe was to drayne and open our springs, not considering theire rise from a higher ground southeast from the house, w$^{ch}$ must needs supply our deepe well, whereever they suncke their fall: this invenc'on faileing, they bringe up an open trench in a worme work, the earth being indented or sawed, for the securitie of their myners, and the ditch 2 yards wide and 3 deepe, for the fall of the water.

But now neither ditches nor ought els troubled our souldiers, theire grand terror, the mortar-peece, which had frighted 'em from theire meate and sleepe, like a dead lyon quyetly lying among 'em: everye one had his eye and his foote upon him, shouteing and rejoyceing as merrily as they used to doe w$^{th}$ theire ale and bagpypes. Indeed, ev'y one had this apprehenc'on of the service, that the maine worke was done, and what was yet behind but a meere pastime.

The house, though well fenced ag't the shott of canon, has much inward building of wood, an ancyent and weak fabrick, w$^{th}$ w$^{ch}$ many mens lives was nakedly exposed to the periers, and by this dayes action p'served, of w$^{ch}$ in respect of all other occurrences in the siege, wee may say what *Livy* speaks of the battle at *Nola*—"Ingens eo die res, ac nescio an maxima illo bello gesta sit—Circa Alesium tantæ res gestæ, quantas audere vix hominis, perficere nullius, nisi Dei sit."—Paterculus. It was the greatest and most fortunate exployt. Her La$^{pp}$ though not often overcarryed w$^{th}$ any light expressions of joy, yet religiously sensible of soe great a blessing, and desireous, according to her pious disposition, to returne acknowledgements to the right authour, God alone, presently comands her chaplaynes to a publike thanksgiving.

The enemy, thus terrifyed with this defeate, durst not venture theire workes agayne till midnight; towards morneing removeing some of theire canon, and the next night stealeing away all the rest, save one peece for a memorand'. This one escapt nayleing, which the colonells durst not venture on its owne mount, but planted att a distance, for feare of the madmen in the garrison.

One thing may not heere bee omitted: that day that our men gave *Rigby* that shamefull defeate, had hee destined for the p'secuteing of his utmost cruelty. Hee had invited, as it is now gen'ally confest, all his freinds, the holy abettors of this mischiefe, to come see the house yeelded or burnt, hee haveing purposed to use his morter gunne w^th^ fireballs or granadoes all afternoone; but her La^pp^ before 2 o'clocke (his owne tyme) gave him a very skurvy satisfying answ^r^, soe that his friends came opportunely to comfort him, who was sicke of shame and dishonour, to be routed by a lady and a handfull of men.

After this hee was hopeles of gayneing the house by any other meanes than starveing us out, or withdraweing the water, w^ch^ our captaynes p'ceaving, p'sently suncke an eye, to meete 'em in theire workes, if they discover any mynes to blow the towers, or walls, in which we had diligent observers to harken to any noyce from their trench, that accordingly our men might direct their countermine.

From this tyme to the 25^th^ May we had a continued calme, M^r^ *Rigbye's* spirit being laid within our circle, soe that wee were scarce sensible of a siege, but only by the restraynt of our lib'ty. But our men continually vexed their quyet, either by the excursions of a few in the night, or by frequent alarums, w^ch^ the captaines gave theire souldiers leave to invent and execute for theire recreation. Sometymes, in spite of their perdues, they would steal a corde about some tree neere the enemyes, and bringeing th' end round, would make it terrible w^th^ many ranks and files of light matches; sometymes dogs, and once a forlorne horse, handsomely star'd with match, but turn'd out of gate, app'd in the darke night like young constellations. But the enemy, soe diseased and beaten both in just and earnest, many of them quitt theire charge, the rest cryed out for pay, ready to take any occasion to leave the plunder of *Lathom* House to others. Col. *Rigby*, p'ceaveing them ready to crumble into mutinyes, endeavored to cement the breaches w$^{th}$ some small pittance of theire pay, declareing it had cost him 2000$^{li}$ of his own moneyes in the siege, who was never knowne to bee worth one till hee became a publike robber by law; but you must remember hee had beene a lawyer, and a bad one.

All this cheape talke wold not keepe his souldiers from defection; many ran awaye, one whereof, escapt from the enemyes works att mid day, came to us, from whom we receaved this intelligence. Our men, not judgeing it safe to trust a fugitive enemy, wold not venture upon another sallye, imagining some treacherye might have beene weav'd in all theise playne webbs, and covered by artifice of this strange convert: but *Rigby* heareing tell of his renegado, p'sently smelt a plot, and ev'ry day and night doubled his guards. His men, wearied out w$^{th}$ extraordinary duty, and himselfe p'plexed w$^{th}$ feares and jealousyes, was forced to call downe Col. *Holland* from *Manchester* to his assistance. About this tyme wee discovered a cessation in theire myne work, the abundance of rayne soe slackinge and looseing the earth, that theire trench all fell in, with the death of 3 of theire myners.

May 23. On Thursday Capt. *Edw. Moseley* brought another sum'ons to her La$^{pp}$ from his Coll. M$^{r}$ *Holland* and *Rigby*, something fuller than the former—(it not beseeminge M$^{r}$ *Rigbyes* greatnes to remit any thing of his former rigour)—that her La$^{pp}$ shold forthw$^{th}$ yield upp her house, her armes and goods, all her servants and her own p'son and children, into theire hands, to bee submitted to the mercy of the parliament; w$^{ch}$ being read, her La$^{pp}$ smiled, and in a troubled passion challenged the Capt. w$^{th}$ a mistake in the paper, *mercy* instead of *cruelty*. "Noe," sayes hee, "the mercy of the Parliament:" when her La$^{pp}$ quickly and composedly replyed, "the mercyes of the wicked are cruell: Not that I meane," sayes shee, "a wicked Parliament, of which body I have an honorable and reverend esteeme, but wicked factors and agents, such as *Moore* and *Rigby*, who for the advantage of theire owne interests labour to turne kingdomes into blood and ruyne. That unless they wold treat w^th^ her Lord, they shold never have her, nor any of her freinds alive;" w^ch^ the souldiers seconded with a generall acclamation.

The Capt. finding her still resolute in her first intention, in discourse with her La^pp^ and some others, gave a tacitt intimation (belike not without instruc'ons from the Colonells), that her La^pp^ may now have her owne first condic'ons to quitt the house; but shee returned the Capt. w^th^ the first answ^r^, that she wold nev' treate without com'ands from her Lord.

The same night one of our spyes, sent out for newes, approch't the enemyes works, and takeing the opportunity of a single centrye, pistoll'd him, and entred the house w^th^ intelligence from his Lo^pp^, that his Highnes PRINCE RUPERT was in Cheshire, on his march for her La^pps^ releefe, which gave us joyfull occasion that night to pray for the Princes happy and victorious approach.

24, 25. Fryday and Saturday were passed over in a hopefull ignorance, for whiles wee knewe nothing, we had good cause to hope well. It beinge the custome of the enemy to storme us w^th^ most hideous tales from theire trenches when they had the least foundation for a lye.

26. On Sunday nighte our centryes discov'ed a weakness in the enemy by the thinnesse of theire releefe, wherefore the Capt. agreed to sally out the next morneing with 200 men.

Capt. *Ogle* and Capt. *Rawstorne* were allotted for the acc'on; but they, like good p'vident fellows, thrifty of theire owne lives, p'vented the Capt. this hono'r, who heareing of the Prince's victorious entrance into the countrey, (by the defeate of Col. *Duckenfield*, *Mainwaring*, *Buckley*, and others, who kept the passe at Stockport, the second key of the county,) stole away betwixt 12 and 1 o'clock in the night.

The next day *Rigby* drew upp his companyes, and what freshe supplyes hee could raise, in all about 3000 (M$^{r}$ Holland being returned to *Manchester*, and Mr. *Moore* to *Liverpoole*), unto *Eccleston Greene*, sixe miles from *Lathom*, standing there in a greate suspence w$^{ch}$ way to turne. Att last imagining the Prince wold either march through *Blackburne* or *Lancaster* for the releefe of *Yorke*, hee intends not to come in his way, but diverts to *Bolton*, formerly a garrison, and still fortifyed.

In this towne the Prince intended to take upp his quarter, being truely certifyed by his scouts, that it was not w$^{th}$out an enemy; but being happily prevented by *Rigby* and some other auxiliaries from Coll. *Shuttleworth*, to the number of 4 or 5000 in all, his Highnes on Tuesday drew upp his army before the town, as truely happy of occasion to fight with the merciles besiegers of a Princesse in misery, and forthwith with all gallantry and resoluc'on ledd up his men to an assault.

The EARLE OF DERBY desireing to be one of the first avengers of that barbarousnes and cruelty expressed to his Lady, with a part of the Princes owne horse charged a troope of the enemy, w$^{ch}$ braveringly issued out of the towne, to disorder and vexe our foote in the assault. Theise hee chact to the very walls, where he slewe the Cornett, and with his owne hand tooke the collours, being the first ensigne taken that day, w$^{ch}$ hee sent to his Highnes. Att his first passe into the towne, closely following the foote at theire entrance,[1] his Lo$^{pp}$ met with Capt. *Bootle*, formerly one of his owne servants, and the most virulent enemy ag$^{t}$ his Lady in the siege. Him hee did honor of too brave a death to dye by his Lords hand, w$^{th}$ some others of his good countreymen, that had 3 monethes thirsted for his Lady's and his children's blood.

The Prince that day not only releev'd but reveng'd the most noble Lady his cosen, leaveing 1600 of her besiegers dead upon the place, and carrying away 700 prisoners. For a perpetuall memoriall of his victory, in a brave expression of his owne noblenesse, and a gracious respect to her Ladiships sufferings, the next day hee presented her La$^{pp}$ with 22 of those collours, which 3 dayes before were proudly flourisht before her house, by the hands of the vallient and truely noble S$^{r}$ *Richard Crane,* w$^{ch}$ will give honour to his Highnes and glory to the acc'on, soe long as there is one branch of that auncyent and princelye familye which his Highnes that day preserved.

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[1] Compare this with the other accounts of the assault, from which it differs as to the first repulse of the Royalists, the mode of Derby's entrance, and the number of the slain.

### A VIEW OF THE GARRISON, THEIRE STRENGTH AND DISCIPLINE.

Her *Ladiship* comanded in cheefe, whose first care was the service of God, which in sermons and solemne prayers shee duely saw p'formed: 4 tymes a day was shee com'only p'sent in publike prayers, attended with 2 litle ladyes her children, the *Lady Mary* and the *Lady Catherine,* for piety and sweetnes truelye the children of soe princely a mother: and if daringnes in tyme of danger may adde anything to theire age and virtues, lett them have this testimonye, that though truely apprehensive of the enemyes malice, they were nev' startled w$^{th}$ any appe'ance of danger.

### HER CAPTAYNES.

Capt. *Hen. Ogle,* Capt. *Edw. Chisnall,* Capt. *Edw. Rawsterne,* Capt. *Wm Farmor,* Capt. *Mullineux Rattcliffe,* Capt. *Richard Fox,* assisted in their consultac'ons by *W$^{m}$ Farrington of Werden, Esq.* who, for executeing the commission of array, and attending her La$^{pp}$ in her troubles, had suffered the seizure of all his personall estate, and the sequestration of all his lands.[1]

The souldiers 300, proportioned to ev'ry Captayne his number; theire duty was ev'ry second night 150 men upon the watch, excepting 16 select marksmen out of the whole, w$^{ch}$ all the day kept the towers. The sallyes were by lotts. The Capt. drawne by her La$^{pp}$ chose theire Lieuts. Without the walls is a deepe ditch, fenced on each banke w$^{th}$ stronge palizadoes; upon the walls 7 towers convenyently flancking one another: within, the walls are lined with earth and sodds, 2 yards thicke, by the industry of the souldiers in the siege.

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[1] Seacome's narrative substitutes Capt. Charnock of Charnock for Captain R. Fox, and Mr. Farrington for Captain Farmer, in the list of Lady D.'s Captains, adding "these Captains received all their orders from Captain Farmer, whom her Ladyshipp had made *Major* of the House, and he received his orders from her Ladyshipp, p. 101. The reader may refer to the work cited for many anecdotes of the chivalrous gallantry of the defenders, in particular Major Munday and Captain Kay, and the expedients of Archdeacon Rutter.

The ordinance 6 sacres, 2 sling peeces, in ev'ry tower 1 or 2 murtherers to scoure the ditches.

Our greatest feare was want of powder, w$^{ch}$ had been suddenly spent, had not the Captaynes dispensed it frugally, and prohibited the souldier from wast of shootes.

Every sally brought us in some new stocke, w$^{ch}$ the souldiers found in the enemyes trenches, to augment our magazine.

This feare made the Captaynes sparing in theire sallyes and theire ordinance, who would els have prevented theire neere works.

In the whole siege we spent but 7 barrels, beside that we tooke from the enemy: in all the time they neither gave us assault nor alarum.

The provision wold have lasted 2 monethes longer, notwithstanding the souldiers hadd alwayes sufficient, whom her Ladiship had a care often tymes to see served herselfe.

We lost but 6 men in the whole siege, 4 in service, and 2 by theire owne negligence, or over daringnes, appeareing above the towers.

### A VIEW OF THE ENEMY.

S$^{r}$ *Tho. Fairfax* com'anded in cheefe;[1] under him Col. *Ashton*, Col. *Holland*, Col. *Moore*, Col. *Rigby*, by turns assisting one another.

The com'on souldier continually in leaguer betwixt 2 or 3000, which divided in tertias, 7 or 800 watched ev'ry third day and night. Theire artillery, one demi canon, 1 culverin, a morter-peece, and 3 sacres.

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[1] It is probably only intended by this expression that Fairfax arranged the plans of the siege, in the first instance personally, and subsequently by correspondence. Col. Egerton of Shaw appears from Seacome's account to have had the principal local command in the early part of the siege, and Col. Rigby in the later part.

Their works was an open trench round the house, a gard of ditch, and a gard raised with turfe, att the distance of 60, 100, or 200 yards from the walls.

Their sconces 8, raised in such places as might most annoy our men in the sallye, built directis lateribus, 2 yards in rampier and a yard in ditch, in some places stak'd and pallizadoed to keepe off a violent assault.

Their pioneers were first sheltred by basketts and hurdles, and afterwards by a kind of testudo, a wooden engine running on wheeles, rooft towards the house, with thicke plancks, and open to the enemy for liberty to cast up the earth.

They shott 107 canon, 32 stones, and 4 granadoes. They spent by confession of theire owne officers neare 100 barrels of powder, lost about 500 men, besides 140 maymed and wounded.

# Chapter IX.

RUPERT'S ADVANCE THROUGH SHROPSHIRE AND CHESHIRE TO THE RELIEF OF LATHOM—THE PASS OF STOCKPORT FORCED—ASSAULT, STORM, AND MASSACRE AT BOLTON—SIEGE, STORM, AND SLAUGHTER AT LIVERPOOL —DEPARTURE FROM LANCASHIRE TO RAISE THE SIEGE OF YORK, AND DEFEAT AT MARSTON MOOR.

MAY—JULY MDCXLIV.

## Extracts from Contemporary Authorities, &c.—*(continued.)*

### *Advance of Prince Rupert towards Bolton, from Shropshire.*

"1644, March. About this time *Nantwich* was very suspicious of Prince Rupert, for he had been long in Shrewsbury and in Wales, gathering more forces. Therefore they first kept a day of humiliation, and then prepared for an assault: but he came not that way. After he had gathered what moneyes he could in Shropshire and elsewhere, he drew all his forces towards Holt, Farndon, Malpas, and Whitchurch, and the country thereabouts, and May 18 advanced towards Drayton. The next day (19th) his army of 10,000,[1] most horse, came over the water to Audlem, Brewerton, Over, &c. and plundered all the country.

"Upon Monday (May 20th) Nantwich bands, being a thousand, issued forth towards Hatherton, but the enemy retired to Audlem, and so they did not meet with any of them.

"Upon Tuesday (21st) at night, Prince Rupert lay at Betteley, and his army advanced towards Haslington, Sandbach, &c. plundering most fearfully all along, and especially taking men and horses.

* * * * *

"Upon Friday (May 24) they advanct towards Lancashire, and lodged at Knutsford. Upon Saturday (25) they advanct towards Stockport, where Col. Mainwaring and Col. Duckenfield were with their companies, but they left the town, and fled into Lancashire.[2] About three days after they assaulted *Bolton*, and with loss of much blood and great cruelty took it. After that they set upon Liverpool, and took it."—*Burghall's Providence Improved, MS. Copy, Coles' MSS. British Museum.*

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[1] This force is probably overrated, but not much, if it is considered how large a residue mustered in Montgomeryshire after the losses at Stockport, Bolton, Liverpool, the skirmishes with Shuttleworth, the severe slaughter at Marston Moor, and the capture and loss of nearly two thousand horse in flying across Lancashire to Cheshire.

[2] Rushworth (part iii. vol. ii. p. 623) mentions serious resistance at "Stopworth," before the retreat of the Parliamentary forces. Ryves, in his *Mercurius Aulicus*, states

*Perfect Diurnall*, No. 44, June 3, 1644.

Friday, May 31.—Letters from the Earl of Manchester received in London, that his horse, joined with the Scottish horse and Sir Thomas Fairfax, are advanced towards Lancashire, to prevent Prince Rupert's steering that way for the relief of Yorke, or to disturbing the peace of the noble Lancastrians, who without any intermission have ever shewn themselves faithful and truly valiant for the Parliament's service.

*Ibid.* p. 352.—Sat. June 1.—That Rupert, with 5000 horse and 3000 foot, and 58 carriages, was in Lancashire, thinking more of plundering it than relieving York, and thereby to impede the designs of the besiegers. That he had taken Stockport, but that Sir John Meldrum, with a regiment of foot of the Scottish army, and a regiment of the Lord Fairfax (Lancashire men) is certainly arrived safe at Manchester, to joyne with that renowned and valiant garrison against Prince Rupert; and that Fairfax was consulting with the Earl of Manchester, then at Selby, what further forces could be spared for Lancashire.

## XXXIX.

*An Exact Relation of the bloody and barbarous Massacre at Bolton in the Moors in Lancashire, May 28, by Prince Rupert, being penned by an Eye-Witnesse admirably preserved by the gracious and mighty hand of God in that day of Trouble.* Published according to Order.

London: Printed by *R. W.* for *Christopher Meredith*, August 22, 1644.[1]

An Exact Relation of the bloody and barbarous Massacre at Bolton in the Moors in Lancashire, May 28, by Prince Rupert,

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the loss of the Parliament forces in Stockport assault at 800 prisoners; and in Bolton assault at 800 rebels killed, *at least*, and 600 prisoners; but the account, which is mixed up with predictions from Booker's almanac, is not to be depended on.

[1] With the exception of the statement in the last note (as far as the knowledge of the editor goes) the reader who would wish to find the most moderate account of the slaughter at Bolton, must turn from the records of the Royalists, written in the moment

being penned by an Eye-Witnesse, admirably preserved by the gracious and mighty hand of God in that day of Trouble.

After those two fatall and prodigious fountaines of our sad Counties misery, *viz.* ours in full security in too much resting upon

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of triumph, and take the *reduced* numbers from the lamentations of the sufferers, the Parliamentarians and Puritans.

The Royalist account, given from Seacome (p. 109), states that most of 2000 Parliament soldiers left by Rigby, were slain on the place, under Rupert's order forbidding quarter to any in arms: the other Royalist account (already given in the Siege of Lathom, p. 183) states the loss on *the same side* as 1600 slain, and 700 prisoners.

The present account, which seems to have been written by one not likely to reduce the extent of slaughter unnecessarily, makes the total amount of the slain on *both sides* about 1200 or 1500, and is probably nearest the truth. Many, as it states, were buried in obscure places, the Royalists burying the principal persons among their dead in the chancel of Bolton Church. Others of the Parliamentary party occur in one entry in the Register, which is headed "*all these* 78 *of Bolton slayne the* 28 *of May* 1644." "*Wm. Bootle, Capt.*" occurs first in this entry, and subsequently "*Jo. Bradshaw, Gent.*" The rest do not require particular notice.

An anecdote is introduced in Pennant's *Tour to Alston Moor* (p. 59), which in idle gossip states Sir Thomas Bootle (purchaser of Lathom from the Derby family) to have been a descendant of this officer; and, in fact, mentions the alienation as a judgment on the representatives of the Earl, to whom the captain, previously his porter, is said to have "sued in vain." The preceding extract of the burial register of Captain *William* Bootle confutes the story. Mr. Bootle of Melling, the ancestor of the subsequent purchaser, and the head of that family at the time of the storm of Bolton, was *Thomas* Bootle, as appears by Dugdale's Visitation of 1664.

On the subject of Bootle's death by Derby's hand, the following statements are quoted, as it is a point which has been much discussed.

*The present Tract* mentions the Earl's ignoble, nay base killing of Captain Bootle, after quarter given. *The Chronicler of Lathom Siege* says, that the Earl did him the honour of too brave a death, to die by his Lord's hand. *Seacome* omits the alleged fact entirely. *The Perfect Diurnall* (in accord with other contemporary authorities) gives, as the reason for the Earl's execution being fixed at Bolton, the cruelties of Rupert and the Earl there, and the Earl's having there "killed in *cold blood* one Captain Bootle, formerly his servant." In all the versions of the Earl's last speech, he may be understood more or less specifically to have denied the allegation; in *all* of them *he denies the charge of being* "*a man of blood.*"

It is presumed that the charge turns on the *alleged guilt of deliberately killing after quarter given.* As to the general slaughter, it can excite little surprise, even if taken in the most aggravated point of view. The warmest advocate of Rupert would not praise *him* for *mercy.* Bolton, the centre of Puritanism, "the Geneva of Lancashire," had bravely beaten off two previous assaults of Derby on former occasions; and to this our owne strength upon the one side, and our wofull and ruine-threatning divisions on the other, had long portended, and Gods Ministers had often warned us of that calamity which then we feared not, nor believed, but now smart under; it pleased the just and wise hand of Heaven, at last, to awake our dead spirits by that sad Alarme of War, and to cause that black cloud which hung over our heads to be dissolved, and first to be poured down in a bitter showre of blood, upon that Spectacle of sorrow and amazement, poor, sighing, and solitary *Bolton;* that *England* may see

third attack Rupert's troopers came expressly for the purposes of wiping off the memory of former defeats, and avenging the wrongs of Lady Derby on Rigby and Bolton, under the excitement of a largess sent by the Countess to them. The fire of the Lancashire guns was too heavy for Rupert's veterans; and after their first repulse, according to Seacome, they were further excited by the exhibition of their captured fellow-soldiers slaughtered on the ramparts. It is clear that Rupert *then* forbade quarter, whatever his *previous intentions* might have been; that the Earl headed the forlorn hope in the renewed assault, and that in the height of the carnage his late servant met him near the cross, and fell near him. The statements founded on Bishop Rutter's materials, state, that he begged quarter, and was told by the Earl, "I will not kill thee, but I cannot save thee from others." Perhaps no two bystanders, in the horror of the moment, would have agreed precisely as to the result.

*Local readers* may perhaps not think a further notice of some of the sufferers uninteresting.

Three females are mentioned amongst those abused or slaughtered. *Elizabeth Horrocks*, seemingly widow of the Captain Horrocks slain in arms, was probably a relative of Alexander Horrocks, minister of Dean. Catherine, wife of Arthur Seddon, is conjectured from several coincidences to have been a member of the numerous family, or rather clan, of the Cromptons, a zealous and pious race, belonging to that section of the Puritans afterwards known as Non-Conformists, but never actively engaged in the civil contest. To a very well known branch of the same family belonged the Vicar's relict, Alice Gregge, another victim, recently a widow, and mentioned, together with her husband, more at large in the biographical index.

The *Perfect Diurnall* of June 10 adds to the victims "*four worthy divines, Mr. Haycocks, Mr. Tillesley, Mr. Harper, and Mr. Fogg.*" It is probable that the persons intended were—Alex. Horrocks, minister of Dean; John Tildesley, pastor there; John Harper, pastor of Bolton; and John Fogge, pastor of Liverpool. If this is the case, the statement is at once disproved by all these persons having signed the *Harmonious Consent* in 1649. Be this, however, as it may, though no one can doubt the jeopardy that might have been undergone by "four worthy divines," if they had encountered Rupert's troopers, there can be as little doubt that *if they had fallen*, they would not have escaped the lamentations of the chronicler of the "massacre," who *does not mention them.*

and be ashamed that she hath not long since spewed out such monsters as are bred in her owne bowels, and that all may take it to heart that there hath beene no more zeale in us for the Cause, Servants, Gospel, and glory of the Lord of Hosts, so much aimed at, and, by tongues set on fire of hell so vilified, as in this relation may further appeare.

On Tuesday, May 28, this sad towne being almost destitute of men, ammunition, or other means of defence, was in the morning relieved by that noble cordiall commander, Col. *Rigbie;* and certainly if some other aid designed for our helpe had come in time, there had been a good account rendered of that townes preservation, and the enemies discouragement; but that God, which intended not our deliverance, used not the meanes; yet in all there was about 2000 Souldiers and 500 Clubmen, a company sufficient if the securitye of the Inhabitants had not hindred their better fortifying of the same.

About two of the clocke in the afternoone the enemy was discovered about a mile off, and they made their approaches to the Town on the More south-west from the Town. Their number was guessed, and by themselves after confessed to be about 12000. They appeared at first like a wood or cloud, and presently were cast into severall bodies; divers scouts approached to discover the way for their entrance with most advantage. Our Commanders were very couragious, and our Souldiers very hardy, and both resolved to stand to it, and in the first encounter gave them about halfe an houres sharpe entertainment, were close in discharge, as the enemies confessed after, and repulsed them bravely to the enemies great losse and discouragement, and in their retreate cut them down before them in great abundance, and they fell like leaves from the tree in a winter morning.

Then was a breathing, or rather a new preparative for a fresh encounter, which was gallantly performed on both sides, wherein the worthy Colonell *Rigby,* and his Commanders, Captain *Willougby,* Captain *Bootle,* and the rest, did notable service. But, alas, what could naked men do against horse in an unfortified place: besides, it is conceived that a Townsman was their convoy to bring them on through a place called the Private Akers for a great reward; and when once the horse was got into the Town, there could be no resistance almost made, but every man left to shift for himself.

At their entrance, before, behinde, to the right, and left, nothing heard but kill dead, kill dead was the word in the Town, killing all before them without any respect, without the town by their Horsemen pursuing the poore amazed people, killing, stripping, and spoiling all they could meet with, nothing regarding the doleful cries of women or children, but some they slashed as they were calling for quarter, others when they had given quarter, many hailed out of their houses to have their brains dasht out in the streets, those that were not dead in the streets already pistoled, slashed, brained, or troden under their horses feet with many insolent blasphemous oathes, curses, and challenges to heaven itselfe, (no doubt) hastening the filling up of their cup, and bringing that swift destruction upon them, which they shortly after tasted of (and blessed, blessed ever be the great and just God for it) with many taunts and cruell mockings; as, "See what your prayers are come to! Where is all your dayes of humiliation? O, that we had that old Rogue *Horrocks* that preaches in his grey cloake!"

But I forbeare many sad things which might be inserted, the usage of children crying for their fathers, of women crying out for their husbands, some of them brought on purpose to be slaine before theire wives faces; the rending, tearing, and turning of people naked, the robbing and spoiling of all the people of all things that they could carry: all which this Authour being an eye witnesse, and a sharer in, who though quarter was given him by a Souldier that found him out in hopes of getting his money, yet had like to have been severall times killed after for his money, which others had gotten before, and doubtlesse had been slaine if a Commander had not appointed to carry him to the Prince, yet he that carried him forced him to go and borrow twenty shillings more, else he would leave him in the streets again, and that was present death.

The relator upon his own knowledge and good information further addes some particular instances of their then matchless cruelty, by which (as *ex ungue leonem*) you may judge and abhorre them, and their actions, and the Lord grant *England* at last an open eye and due sense of her owne misery, by this sad spectacle, and wofull example of *Bolton.*

First the massacring, dismembring, cutting of dying or dead bodies, and boasting, with all new coined oathes swearing how many Roundheads this sword or they had killed that day, some eight, some six, some more or lesse. Arms, legs, yea the braines themselves lying distant from their heads, bodies, and other parts.

Their treading under horse feet and prancing over halfe dying poore Christians, who were so besmeared and tumbled in dust and blood, that scarce anything of man remained in the cruell beastly actor or wofull sufferer, but onely proportion of men in both, the one being become so farr below the nature of a man in acting, the other cast below the condition of the most miserable of men, in suffering such unheard of things.

Their violent pursuit of their bloody victory in the Towne and four or five miles out of the Towne in outhouses, fields, highwayes and woods, killing, destroying and spoiling all they could reach, and crying out, "Where is your Roundheads' God now? He was with you at Warrington, Wigan, Manchester, and other places, and hath he forsaken you Roundheads of *Bolton* now? Sure he is turned Cavalier," &c.

Their bragginge how many wives they that day had made widowes and children fatherlesse, mercilessly casting off all pitty, insomuch as any if they were tumbling in the dirt or ditches, did but lift up their heads and cry "Quarter, for the Lord Jesus' sake, quarter," all the mercy they shewed them was to cry out to others, or to say, "God damme, ile give this or that strong Roundheaded rogue one blow more to send him quickly to the Devill."

*William Boulton* was fetcht out of his chamber with scorne, saying they had found a praying Saint, and fetcht him to kill him before his wives face, who being greate with childe and ready to be delivered, fell on him to have saved him, but they pulled her off without compassion, and bade him call on his God to save him, whilest they cut him to pieces.

*James Syddal* lying wounded and dying was heard by one of them to give a groan (after they had thought him long before to be dead) and presently one discharged his pistol at his heart, but it would not enter; the other he prepared after, and that tooke effect; and after boasted what an act he had done, saying, "Yonder lies one of the strongest Roundheads that ever I met withall, for one of my pistols discharged at his heart would not enter, but I thinke I sent him to the Devill, with a vengeance, with the other."

*Katherine Saddon*, an aged woman of 72 years old, run with a sword to the very heart, because she had no money to give, and some others killed outright after they were mortally wounded, because they stirred or answered not greedy unjust desires.

*Elizabeth Horrocks*, a woman of good qualitie, after that they had killed her husband, tooke her in a rope and dragged her up and down, after that they had robbed and spoiled her of all she had, and threatned to hang her unlesse she would tell them of her plate and money, who was yet wonderfully preserved.

Their inhuman usage of her and some other maids and wives in the town in private places, in fields and in woods, the trees, the timber, and the stones, we hope will one day be a witnesse against them, for some of them being destracted at the present day.

*Alice Greg*, the reverend late minister of Bolton's widow, stripped to her smocke,—nay, she having two smockes on, they tooke one of them, and left her scarce old rags to cover her nakednesse.

But the principal stain of all this cruelty, as is reported, was set off by that *Strange Earle*, his ignoble, nay base killing of valiant Captain *Bootle* after quarter given, besides whom, and Captaine *Horrocke*, we lost no commander of note; but they lost, as is confessed, a Colonel, a Lieutenant Colonel, and divers other Commanders of good quality. Whether their losse or ours was greater for souldiers is somewhat questionable, so many of ours escaped, and so many of theirs were buried by them partly in obscure places, and a greate many of note by them lie buried in the chancell of the Church. Of their and oure side it is conceived there was slain about 1200 or 1500 in all.

Only this one thing they may boast of more in their bloody zeal for the worst of causes that ever was defended by *English Spirits*, that they left almost three score poor widows husbandlesse, and hundreds of poor children fatherlesse, and a sweet godly place a nest of owles and a den of dragons, almost without inhabitant: only a few women and children are the remnant left, without bit to eate, bed to lie on almost, or a cup to drink in, or any meanes of subsistence in the world. So that we may well conclude with *Jeremiah* (Lam. i. 12) " Was ever sorrow like to my sorrow? Is it nothing to you, O yee that pass by?" &c.

Oh England! Oh Heaven! Oh Earth! &c. beare witnesse of our calamity. Oh London! and all ye places yet freed from our sorrows, think on the day of your peace with thankfulnesse, of our trembling and trouble with compassion. And oh, all ye Christians and people of the Land, let bleeding, dying, undone *Bolton* bespeake one thing at the hands of all sorts. Take heed of security and your own divisions, lay aside your own ends, spirits, interests, engagements, and distractions, and first labour to carry on God's work in the subduing of these cursed *Edomites* and *Amalekites* devoted unto destruction by the hand of heaven, or else look with *Bolton* to taste of the same cup of trembling which the Lord, the God of Hosts, in his due time, take out of all our hands, and fill up with the measure of our bloody enemies' sins, the measure of their plagues, which the just God will in due time return upon them for this and all their cruelty, that King, Parliament, and People may once more rejoyce in the due settlement of truth and peace in these our dayes, and Glory may still dwell in our land. Which God grant for Christ's sake. Amen.

*An Account of the Siege and taking of Bolton in the County of Lancaster, on the twenty-eighth of May* 1644, *by his Highness Prince Rupert, General and Chief Commander of the Army of his Uncle, King Charles I.* (Seacome's Memoirs, 1741. p. 108).[1]

The Prince being advertized that the Siege of *Latham House* was raised, and that *Rigby*, the late Besieger thereof, with his Army, were fortified in *Bolton*, resolved to do all that lay in his power to Avenge the Affronts and Abuses put upon and Suffered by the Brave and most Noble Lady *Derby*, to whom he knew himself nearly Ally'd by Consanguinity of Blood; therefore, waiving their Garrison of *Manchester*, he hastened to Bolton, which being but of a small Circuit, and Defended with three thousand Men, His Highness rightly judged would make a Vigorous Resistance; however, having called a Council of War, ordered his Post, and prepared for a Storm, gave Directions for the Assault, which was Performed with much Gallantry and Resolution by his Men; but being greatly Annoy'd from the Wall by the Enemies Cannon, and the Multitude of the Defendants, they were obliged to Retreat, and Quit the Assault, with the Loss of two Hundred men.

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[1] This account of the storming of Bolton, as well as the subsequent one of the storming of Liverpool, are added here from Seacome's Memoirs, not only as being the Royalists' statement, but as appearing to be drawn from the Stanley papers, for the reasons undermentioned.

Dr. Whitaker (*Richmondshire*, ii. 258) describes these Memoirs as "an ill-written account of the Stanley family, compiled, however, by the help of original authorities, which should have fallen into better hands." In the following page he considers their author to have had access to family papers, "certainly from Latham," when alluding to Seacome's account of Lord Monteagle's belief in materialism, on which account Whitaker himself builds a beautiful superstructure. In these remarks the Editor coincides, and as it is necessary in this work to refer so frequently to Seacome's *Memoirs of the House of Stanley*, it is desirable to say something as to that work and its author.

"John Seacome of Liverpool, Gent." states himself to have had "the honour to serve" William, ninth Earl of Derby, "*several years*, as household steward." Earl William died in 1702, and Seacome may therefore be presumed to have been born within a few years of the Restoration. It is clear that he had the full confidence of his noble master, for his whimsical errors often turn on his habit of substituting family gossip for historical evidence; and it appears from his dedication to James, Duke of Athol (who succeeded to the Isle of Man, and the later barony of Strange, on the death of James Stanley, tenth Earl, in 1736) that such kindness was continued to him by his "Grace's favour and beneficence."

The first edition of his work (which is the one quoted in this collection) was published without date, but the work was completed in 1741 (as noticed in pp. 6, 176, and Append. 53) and republished in 1767, without name, dedication, or preface, and otherwise curtailed. It is clear that he had either Baggaley's papers ("*my* collection, *Baggaley*") or a transcript; and besides other references to the papers of Bishop Rutter (chaplain at Lathom during both sieges), in p. 2 he quotes "*Bp. Rutter, in his MS. now by me.*" His opinions on all points excepting those of the civil war or others subsequent to it, are beneath notice; and it will be clear from his errors respecting *Shrewsbury* and Sir R. *Lane* in the present extract, that he is only to be attended to where he follows his authority. Much, however, is due to him for preserving what he has given; and he disarms criticism, by describing his education as narrow and scanty, "having made me just so much scholar as to know my want of learning, yet I have learned what duty and gratitude mean."

His Highness being greatly Irritated and Ruffled by this Repulse, but especially with the Barbarous Cruelty of the Enemy, who murdered his Soldiers taken in the *Storm* in Cold Blood upon the walls before his Eyes; with which he was highly Provoked, and called a second Council of War, wherein he proposed a second Onset. The Earl of *Derby* considering how much he was concern'd for his Lady and Children, who unless the Town were Taken, would upon the Prince's Departure be again immediately Besieged, requested his Highness to allow him two Companies of his Old *Soldiers*, then under the Command of Colonel *Tyldesley*, and to give him the Honour to Command the *Vann*, saying he would either enter the Town, or leave his Body in the Ditch. His Highness appeared unwilling to Hazard a Person of his great worth in so Desperate an Action, yet, upon his Importunity, comply'd with his Request; and things being Prepared and Ready, the Prince gave Orders for an Assault on all Parts of the Town where 'twas possible to make any Approaches.

The Earl of *Derby* with his two Hundred Men Marched directly to the Walls, and after a Quarter of an Hour's hot Dispute, Entered the First Man himself, who being Bravely Seconded by fresh Supply's, the Town was instantly Attack'd on every quarter; Rigby himself got away, but left two Thousand of his Men behind him, most of which were slain upon the Place, the Prince forbidding to give Quarter to any Person then in Arms, because they had so inhumanly Murdered his Men in Cold Blood, (as before mention'd).

This Action was Performed on the twenty-eighth of May 1644. And the sudden and surprizing Conquest of this Town (just after so Smart a Repulse), was chiefly attributed to the Courage and Resolution of the Brave Earl of *Derby*, animated by a just concern of the Sufferings of his Noble Lady and Children, and to the Bravery of the two Hundred Lancashire Men he had the Honour to Command on that Occasion; for all fought with Equal Ardour for the Relief of their Noble Lady Mistress, being all Tennants and Neighbours' Sons, Raised, Cloathed, Armed and Trained by that valiant Earl, but Ungenerously and Disgracefully taken from him by the King at *Worcester*;[2] whose weak and easie Temper proved

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[1] It is obvious that *Shrewsbury* is intended, and the soldiers here mentioned were part of the regiment commanded by Lord Molyneux. See pp. 44, 47, 159.

afterwards the Ruin of himself, and his Brave and Gallant Subject the Earl of *Derby*, who once, in all appearance, had Interest and Power sufficient, if right use had been made thereof, to have Delivered his Majesty from the Power and Malice of all his Enemies.

The Prince having obtained this seasonable Victory over the Rebels in *Bolton*, sent all the Colours taken there by Sir *Richard Lane*[1] to the Lady *Derby*, which her Ladyship received as a singular Honour as well as Comfort, and caused them to be hung up in *Lathom House*, as a happy remembrance of God's Mercy and Goodness to her and her Family.

From this Place, after some Days' rest, his Highness was prevailed upon to March to *Liverpool*, to Reduce that Town, where the Enemy had a strong Garrison under the Command of Colonel *Moor*, a worthy Member of that *Rebellious Junto* who sat at *Westminster*, and took upon them to Order and Direct all the Publick Affairs and Government of the Kingdom.

## Extracts from contemporary journals relative to Rupert's Siege of Liverpool, etc.

*The Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 58, 4 to 11 June 1644:

Page 471.—Prince Rupert, it is hoped, will be met withall in a short time, though that brave and most deserving County of *Lancashire* be awhile distressed. If the tounes of *Manchester*, *Warrington*, and *Lancaster* and *Liverpoole* have but provision of victuals for twenty dayes, for Men, Armes, and Ammunition they have enough, they need not doubt of releefe from York."

June 10, 1644.—"Whereas the forces in the service of the Parliament within the County of *Lancaster* are in great want and distresse, and that County wholly spoiled and wasted by the Enemie," it is ordered that £3000 out of the sum appropriated for maintaining land forces be paid to Thomas Stone, Thomas Browne, James Waynwright, and Thomas Markland, Citizens of *London*, for the use of the same, &c.; to be paid by the same to Humphrey Cheetome, Esquire, Treasurer of the said Countie, who shall issue the same by order of the Deputy Lieutenant. —*Husband's Ordinances*, page 521.

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[1] Sir Richard *Lane* was a lawyer, "the Prince's solicitor and attorney." See Lloyd's *Memoirs*, 594. The *Siege of Lathom* reads, with much greater probability, Sir Richard *Crane*, who served the Elector in the Palatinate, came over with Rupert to England in 1642, and was slain at Bristol in 1645.—*Lloyd*, 667.

June 16.—*Vicars's Chronicle* (Part 2, *God's Arke*, &c., page 258) notices as a proof of the sympathy for "poor distressed *Bolton*," a collection "at the Church and Chappel at *Salford*, where was gathered seven score pounds, besides much money that came in after that publike Collection." The sum is large, considering the great local distress.

### *Mercurius Britannicus*, No. 39, June 17, 1644.

"The brave repulse which Colonel More, Governor of Liverpole, gave twice to Rupert (who assaulted that place with greate fury) is worthy of your notice. The seamen were very active in that Service, and all are resolute to defend that place against Rupert, the Viper who devours his nourisher. 400 English and Scots are sent from Manchester to Warrington, and from thence by water to Liverpoole, for their better assistance, and the Ships in the Harbour are well fitted to defend and make good a part of that town."

### *In the close of the same page*, June 17, 1644.

"Rupert hath at length with the number of his souldiers and continual assaults stormed the towne of Liverpoole, but the prudent Governor, with the losse of not above *sixty* men, kild him *fifteen* hundred, and finding that he could not hold the place any longer, he privately drew off his Ordnance, Armes, and Ammunition, and afterwards his goods in the Towne, and safely conveyed them on board the *Ships* riding in the *Poole*, and disappointed *Rupert's* hopes therein, but he cares for nothing so much, as that he hath got that nest, for his *Uncle's* loyal subjects the *Irish Rebels* to come over and build in, and help to setle the Protestant Religion."

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### *An Account of the Siege and Taking of Liverpool on or about the 26th of June 1644, by Prince Rupert, with a description of the scituation of that Town.* (From Seacome's *Memoirs of the House of Stanley*, original edition, p. 110.)[1]

"Upon the Princes arrival near *Liverpool*, he was inform'd that it was well fortified with a strong and high mud wall, and a ditch of twelve yards wide, and near three yards deep, inclosing the Town from the *East* end of the *Street* called *Dale Street*, and so *Northward* to the River, and from *Dale Street*-end *East*, and *South*

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[1] For a note respecting Seacome's supposed authorities, see page 196; and for a plan of the ancient castle of Liverpool, which was taken down after the Restoration, and another plan of the fortified mansion of the Stanley family there, see Gregson's *Fragments.*

*East*, being a low marshy ground, was covered with water from the *River*, and Batteries erected within to cover and guard against all Passage over or thro' that Water. All the Street Ends to the *River* were shut up, and those to the Land inclosed with strong Gates, defended by Cannon: all useless Women and Children were sent to their Friends in the Country, on both sides the *River*. There was also a strong Castle on the *South*, surrounded with a Ditch of twelve yards wide and ten yards deep, from which to the *River* was a cover'd Way, thro' which the Ditch was fill'd with Water, and by which, when the Tide was out, they brought in Men, Provisions, and Stores of War, as occasion requir'd. In and upon this Castle were planted many Cannon, as well to annoy the Besiegers at a Distance, as to cover the Ships in the Harbour, which was then where the Dock is now, and at the Entrance whereof was a Fort of eight Guns to guard that, and to prevent all Passages by the *River* side at low water. Besides all these advantages of Defence, there was one most unhappy circumstance to many distressed Families, but very lucky to the Besieged; for in those distracted, confused, and rebellious Times, the *English Protestants* had great numbers of them been massacred in *Ireland*, and those who escap'd with Life obliged to fly to *England* for refuge and safety, bringing with them all the Effects they possibly cou'd for support, amongst which was great quantities of Wool. The Besieged covered the tops of their Mud Walls with bags of Wool, which saved them greatly from the small shot of the Besiegers. The Garrison within was numerous, and stor'd with Arms and Ammunition of all kinds, and in this state thought themselves able to give the Prince a hearty welcome on his visitation of them.

*Liverpool* is scituate upon a ridge of land on the *East* side of the River *Mersey*, running from the *North* side of the Town for about a mile to the *South* side thereof, where it falls to a flat; but in its form for the most part declines on the *West* side to the River, and on the *East* side to the country.

The Town was at that time but small, either in appearance or reality, to what it is now. However, the Fortifications of it then included most of all the Town as it is at present. The River is about a mile broad from bank to bānk, and of depth sufficient for reception of the largest Ships up to the Town. The Country near it is high land, which renders it unfit to sustain a long Siege.

Which made the Prince, upon his near approach and view of the Town, being unacquainted with its situation (one side declining to the Country, and the other to the River, as above, so that he cou'd see but little of it), to compare it to a Crow nest; but e'er he became Master of it, he said it might have been an *Eagle's* nest or a den of *Lyons*.

He fix'd his main Camp round the *Beacon*, a large mile from the Town, and his Officers in the villages near it; from whence he brought a Detachment every day to open the Trenches and erect Batteries. The latter were mostly placed upon the ridge of ground running from the *North* of Townsend Mill to the present

Copper Works and Mills, and the Trenches in the lower grounds under them. He relieved his Trenches and Batteries from his Camp twice every twenty-four hours, and from them he battered the Town, and attacked the Besieged and their Works very frequently by way of Storm, but was always repulsed with great slaughter of his *Soldiers* for the space of a month or near it, when some say the Besieged on the *North* side deserted the Works and guard of them ; but others I have heard say that Collonel *Moor* observing they wou'd be taken, he to ingratiate himself with the Prince, and to save his House and Effects at *Bank Hall* near it, gave direction to the *Soldiers* to retreat from those Works; but be that as it will, deserted they were on the *North* side, and the Prince's Army entered the Town on that side about three in the Morning, and put all to the sword they met with, from their entrance to the high Cross, which stood where the Exchange is now;[1] and there they found a regiment of *Soldiers* from the Castle drawn up in battle array, who beat a parly, and demanded quarter; which on treaty they were allowed, but without any other articles than Prisoners of War, and Surrender of the Castle, with their Persons and Arms; upon which they were all sent to the *Tower*, Saint *Nichols's* Church, &c. the Prince taking possession of the Castle himself."

## CONTINUATION OF PRINCE RUPERT'S MARCH TOWARDS YORK.

After the REDUCTION of LIVERPOOL (Seacome, p. 112), Rupert visited LATHOM, directed additions of bastions, counterscarps, &c. to its former defences, appointed Captain E. Rostherne (whom he raised to the rank of colonel of foot) to be governor of the fortress, pressed the Earl of Derby's return to Man (noticed with some unworthy taunts in *Mercur. Britan.* No. 40) then skirmished with Col. Shuttleworth near Blackburn, and passed on to join the Marquis of Newcastle at YORK.—*Rushworth*, v. 624. Dr. Whitaker considers the passage into Yorkshire to have been conducted in two divisions, and cites family documents respecting the plunder of the troopers.—*Whalley*, p. 383. Ryves *(Mercurius Belgicus)* mentions *two* skirmishes, one at Blackburn on June 20, the second near Colne, June 25. Sir Charles Lucas is said to have commanded the Royalists in both, and Colonel Shuttleworth is stated to have been wounded in the second.

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[1] In the rental of Sir Edw. Moore (son of the governor of Liverpool) written in 1667, the following passage occurs with respect to the slaughter: These "outhouses were puled down w$^{n}$ Prince Rubert tooke Leverpooll, Whitsontid 1644, puting all to y$^{e}$ sword, for many howres, giving noe quarter, where Carill, y$^{t}$ now is lord Mullinex, killed 7 or 8 pore men w$^{th}$ his owne hands. Good Lord deliver us from y$^{e}$ cruelty of blud-thersty Papest! Amen!"—*Appendix to Stranger in Liverpool*, 290.

*Perfect Diurnall*, No. 48, 24 June—1 July.

Letters from York that "the noble Generall there, well weighing the sadde condition of Lancashire through the daily pressures and cruelties of the enemy, had sent 6000 horse, 2000 dragoons, and about 5000 foot, under command of the truely valiant Sir Thomas Fairfax and Major General Lesley, *to joyn with Sir John Meldrum's forces* at Manchester, making altogether 20,000 men to attend the motions of Prince Rupert, and are resolved to fight him the first opportunity, or pursue him, which way soever he takes."

These troops, or the larger portion of them, were probably countermanded in consequence of Rupert's advance on York, June 30, previous to THE BATTLE OF MARSTON MOOR, fought on July 2. Rushworth (v. 632) mentions the Parliamentarians being weakened "by reason of the parties they had sent forth, *as into Lancashire under Sir John Meldrum;*" but this appears to point at the *earlier* detachment from the main body, sent to Manchester under that officer, as mentioned above.

# Chapter X.

SUCCESSIVE DEFEATS OF THE ROYALISTS RETURNING ACROSS LANCASHIRE FROM MARSTON MOOR—SURRENDER OF LIVERPOOL TO THE PARLIAMENT—OF GREENHAUGH—OF LATHOM—OF CHESTER—AND OF LICHFIELD, BY ITS GOVERNOR, SIR THOMAS TILDESLEY, UNDER THE ROYAL COMMAND FOR FINAL ABANDONMENT OF FORTRESSES—FORMATION OF LAY AND ECCLESIASTICAL COMMITTEES, ETC., BY THE PARLIAMENT.

JULY MDCXLIV—JUNE MDCXLVI.

### *Extracts from Journals relative to successive Conflicts with Rupert's forces retreating from Marston Moor through Lancashire.*

*Weekly Account*, No. 47, Wednesday, 24 July 1644.

"Sir William Brewerton writes from York. He confirms the surrender thereof, and also writes that Prince Rupert is gone into Lancashire, and as they heare about Preston, and by his rallyed Horse, and other northern forces joyned with him, he is thought to be about 6000 strong—and is afterwards said to have passed at Hayle-ford to Cheshire."

*Perfect Diurnall*, No. 54, page 429.

August 8.—Resolved "that the Lord Fairfax should take care of Yorkshire, and send 1000 Horse into Lancashire to join with the forces of that Countie against Liverpoole, as also Cheshire and Derbyshire, for the reducing the rest of Prince Rupert's broken forces."

The Second Siege of Lathom had now commenced, of which many particulars will be found in Seacome's Memoires, 113-116 and 119-122, Edit. 1741. A brief abstract of these particulars is subjoined to the account of its surrender in the beginning of Dec. 1645, in the Extracts from contemporary Journals following.

*Perfect Diurnall* (55), page 433, Munday, August 12, 1644.

"Upon the receite of Letters certifying the proceedings of the Parliament's forces in the County of Lancaster, and of their late prosperous successe, it was reported to the House of Commons that Colonel Ashton (a valiant active Gentleman) had taken 200 of the Earl of Darbies Horse neere to Preston, and that Sir William Brereton, Major-Generall of the Association of Chester, &c., had sent a party of about 1500 foote to join with the Lancasterians in beleaguering the Towne of Liverpoole." In the same Journal are some trifling remarks on Prince Rupert's amusements at Chester, which show his residence there at that period.

### *Perfect Occurrences*, No. 3, August 28.

Letters as follows:

Sir—On Tuesday in the Evening (August 20), our Generall[1] overtook the Enemy near *Armes-church*, where they stood in Battalia, and after some few foote of Colonell *Booth's* had given fire upon them, they faced about and fled; our Horse bravely following upon them totally routed them. In the pursuit we took 1000 Horse; a list of some of the chief, I have here inclosed. The Lord *Byron* and the Lord *Mollineux* were forced to forsake their Horse, and hide themselves in the Corn Field.

A List of the names of chief Prisoners taken.

Col. Sir Thomas Prestwick
Lieut. Col. Cottington
Capt. James Anderton
Capt. Ecclestone
Butler, Capt.
Brooks, Capt.
Lee, Capt.
Atherton, Capt.
M. Worthington, Esq.
Abraham Laughton, Esq.
Lieut. Sturbane
Lieut. Thom. Massock
John de Hurst, Lieut.
John Mogrow, Lieut.
Walt. Chamberlain, Lieut.
Nathaniel Jones, Lieut.
Cornet Will. Johnson
Edw. Stanley, Corn.
Rich. Wright, Corn.
Hen. Gillibrand, Corn.
Pet. Brand, Gent. of Arms
Wil. Scot, Gent.
Tho. Sherborn, Gent.
James Noiceco, Gent.
Arthur Butler, Gent.
Tho. Wetton, Gent.
John Foxe, Gent.
Master Marshall, Gent.
Quarter Master Nocio
James Brown, Quarterm.
John Fulme, Clerk
James Bond, Clerk
Abraham Jones

### *Perfect Diurnall*, No. 57, 26 Aug. to 2 Sep.

Monday, 26 Aug. (page 450) 1644.—"Letters were read directed to the Speaker of the House of Commons, declaring that the Lord *Ogleby* and Col. *Hudleston* marching towards *Latham* House in Lancashire, encountered with Colonell *Doddington* not far from *Preston*, and at first the dispute was very difficult, but Colonell *Shuttleworth* received an alarm upon this engagement (his quarters being neere), delayed not any time to rescue the first undertakers; upon whose approach Colonell *Doddington's* men were put in great courage, and these two valiant Colonells, being joined together, charged the enemy with such brave resolution, that they were put into disorder, and many of them slaine in the place. The enemies party, consisting of about 400 Horse, of which number was taken about 50 and 40 prisoners; the rest being totally routed, thought to have secured themselves in flying to *Latham* House, but finding the siege there well maintained, were most of them taken in the action; the men of note which were taken prisoners, were the Lord *Ogleby* himselfe, Lieut. Col. *Hudleston*, Mr. *Maxfield*, and Cornet *Grimes*."

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[1] Major General Meldrum.

The same success is noticed in the Life of Meldrum in Ricraft's *Champions*; and also in Vicars's *Chronicle*, iv. p. 11, with a notice of a previous defeat by Meldrum of three hundred of Prince Rupert's soldiers going to fortify *Wigan*, "whom he (P. Rupert) left in that county." It is also noticed in Rushworth's *Collections* (2 pt. 3, p. 745), with the *date of the action* fixed to Aug. 15.

The same action is also the principal subject of a Tract entitled "*Three* great Victories against the Lord Ogleby," printed Aug. 27, 1644 (King's Tracts, 71, Tr. 12); and adding the names of Colonel Mynne and others that were taken prisoners. The rest relates to a success of Meldrum's troops against other fugitives engaged near Lathom, and aided by a sally from the mansion, but routed and

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[1] The titles of the two Tracts relating to these successive victories are as follows:

"Three Great Victories obtained against the Lord Ogleby and others of Prince Rupert's forces, when were taken prisoners the Lord Ogleby, Collonel Mynne, Collonel Ennis, Lieutenant Collonel Huddleston, Lieutenant Collonel Maxwell's son, Lieutenant Collonel Greene, two Serjeant Majors, Collonel Marrow the Governour of Chester slaine, 500 slaine, taken prisoners, and routed. Prince Rupert himselfe fled into Wales with one Piece of Ordnance. And other Particulars from Darbishire of the taking of 500 Armes. Certified by Letters to severall Members, and published by Order, Aug. 27. Printed at London by Jane Coe, 1644."

"A True Relation of two great Victories obtained of the Enemy. The one by Sir William Brereton in Cheshire, the other by Sir John Meldrum in Lancashire: relating to the death of Col. Marrow, and the lists of Prisoners taken in both the Fights, and of about 1800 Horse of Rupert's; as also some remarkable Proceedings of Col. Fox and his Cubs; with the late Condition of the Lord General's Army in the West. All sent up from good hands to the Parliament and to Citizens of good qualitie. Published according to Order. London, Printed for Thomas Underhill, at the Sign of the Bible in Wood Street, 1644." (Aug. 30 in MS.)

The death of Col. Marrow (for whom see *Hist. Chesh.* ii. 135 and 167) relates to the Cheshire victory,—namely, that of Sir William Brereton.

scattered; and to the final defeat near Liverpool of the fugitives from the fight of Aug. 15 by the Parliamentary Horse, quartered between that place and Ormskirk. The officer called Col. *Doddington*, was Col. George *Dodding* of Conishead.

### *Perfect Diurnall*, No. 57 (Aug. 26 to 2 Sep.)

Aug. 27.—"There is still more good news out of Lancashire; here followeth the copie of a letter of particulars:—

"Sir,—The 20 of this instant the Lancashire forces near Armeskirke beat the whole strength of the Enemy, tooke about 300 prisoners, 500 Horse, killed about 100, and forced the rest into Chester (Cheshire?) intending to follow them; and have taken Colonell *Hervey*, besides 7 Captains and many other considerable prisoners: and Sir Thomas *Tilsley* and Colonell *Preston* are either kild or fled privately: for except their corps were among the dead, and being stript, not known, which may be, we cannot tell what is become of them."

### *Rushworth*, Part iii. Vol. 2, page 747, Sep. 3, 1644.

Sir Thomas Middleton surprises the King's forces at Oswestry, taking ammunition intended for Liverpool, Chester, &c.; to regain which, about 2000 of Prince Rupert's Horse, which "some time before broke through Lancashire, reinforced with foot, and in all about 4000, under the command of Lord Byron, advance towards Montgomery on Sep. 17th, and sustain a defeat from the Parliament's forces, strengthened by Meldrum, Brereton, and Sir William Fairfax. The capture of "*Col. Sir Thomas Tildesley*," points to the *presence* of the remains of the *Lancashire Royalist Regiments* in this battle.

See also particulars in Vicars's *Parl. Chron.* Part IV, page 33.

## Liverpool and Lathom.

### *London Post*, No. 5, page 3, Sep. 10, 1644.

In Lancashire—"There are but two garrisons only which now resist the Parliament, which are the garrisons of *Liverpole* and *Latham*. From Liverpole we are informed that they are in good possibility to submit with speede to the mercy of the Parliament. The noble Sir *John Meldrum* with great successe hath made his approaches to it by land, and brought the siege very neer unto their works and to their walls. Colonel *Moore*, who was the Governour of it before Prince *Rupert* made it acknowledge another master, hath besieged it by sea. The sad inhabitants from both elements are deeply distressed; and finding no hope of reliefe, it is thought they will speedily acknowledge another master and a better government. The siege of *Latham* House is still continued, and they now fear no Prince *Rupert* to necessitate them to raise the Siege. The Earle of *Derby* is now in the House."

### DISTRESS IN LANCASHIRE.

*Perfect Occurrences*, No. 5, Wednesday, September 11, 1644.

Order for a general fast on September 12. " One-half of the money collected in the City of London, and in Westminster, and within the lines of communication, to be sent for the relief of *Lancashire*, where in some parts the people had nothing left to cloathe them, or bread for their children to eat, in consequence of the unheard of spoil, rapine, and cruelties, lately committed by the enemie."

The money to be given to Mr. Herle and Mr. Case, members of the Assembly of Divines, Dean's House, Westminster, to be paid by them to Mr. John Hartley of Manchester, and disbursed by him, as directed by Mr. Herrick, warden of Manchester, Mr. Harper, minister of Bolton, Mr. Ward, minister of Warrington, Mr. Letham, minister of Douglas, Mr. Ambrose, minister of Preston, Mr. Shaw, minister of Aldington, Mr. Hepworth, minister of Whalley, or any four of them, the distribution being first seen or allowed by three or more deputy lieutenants.

### LIVERPOOL.

*Perfect Diurnall*, p. 59, September 9-16, p. 472.

Sept. 14.—" Letters out of Lancashire this day received that the Earl of *Derby* having gathered what forces he could, attempted to relieve Liverpool, and was so bravely received by Sir *William Brereton*, that he took and killed 500 of them, and put the rest to flight."—*Roseworm* was master of the ordnance at the Siege, Aug. 16 to Nov. 4. See his Tract.

Sept. 22.—The post of Birkenhead in Cheshire (opposite Liverpool, and garrisoned by the Royalists) fell to the Parliamentarians.—*Carte's Ormond Letters*. 1. 65.

*Perfect Diurnall*, No. 62, Sept. 30.

Letters from Sir *William Brereton*, stating that he had so blockaded West Chester, as to prevent supply coming thither, and the enemy plundering that country, or " *being able to assist Liverpoole*."

### SURRENDER OF LIVERPOOL TO THE PARLIAMENT.

*Perfect Diurnall*, No. 67, 4-11 Nov. 1644.

Nov. 4, p. 530.—" By a letter this day to a member of the House of Commons from Sir *William Brereton*, we had intelligence of the surrender of the garison of *Leverpole* in Lancashire, on Friday last, the first of November, which was also further confirmed by Sir *John Meldrum's* owne letter to the Parliament, the manner in breefe thus. About fiftie of the English souldiers two or three dayes before made escape out of the Garison, and drove away most of the cattle about the towne, and came to Sir *John Meldrum*, which the English-Irish within the

Garison perceiving, and that they were now in a desperate condition, for that quarter was before refused them, consulted together, and seized upon all their commanders or otherwise secured them, and thereby delivered up the town to Sir *John Meldrum*, laying their owne lives downe at his feete, who no doubt will recompense this exploit by shewing them more mercy than otherways they could have expected, and (as we since heare) they are to be sent to Ireland, from whence they came.

"There were taken in the towne two Colonells, two Lieutenant Colonells, three Majors, fourteene Captaines and other Officers, besides Common Soldiers, Ordnance, Armes and Ammunition a great quantity.

"The Malignants in the towne had shipped most of their best goodes and treasure, thinking to convey the same away by night; but Sir *John* by the helpe of some long boats prevented the designe, and surprized the same.

"The taking of this Garison will conduce much to the regaining of *West-Chester*, blocked up by Sir *William Brereton*, and by the conjunction of Sir *John Meldrum's* forces, as is intended, a good accompt will ere long be given thereof no doubt."

This yielding up of Liverpool was made one of the subjects of a Thanksgiving on Tuesday, Nov. 5, following.—Ibidem, p. 531. It is more particularly noticed by Vicars (*Parl. Chron.* iv. p. 62), who mentions among the prisoners, Sir Robert Byron, Governor, and Colonel Cuthbert Clifton.

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## Parliamentary Ordinances of Dec. 1644.

*Two Ordinances* were made by Parliament at this period, which though not coming within the line of Military transactions, require brief mention.

*The first* (Dec. 13, 1644) was an Ordinance of both Houses empowering the following persons, or any seven of them, to ordain Ministers pro tempore within the County of Lancaster. They were persons who exercised great local influence, and those to whose names an asterisk is affixed were committed to the Tower by Cromwell, in 1656, after the jealousies had arisen between the Independents and the Presbyterians.

*Mr. Charles Herle
*Richard Heyrick
James Hyet
William Ashton
William Ward
Alexander Horrocks
Johnson of Ellenbrook
*Mr. John Angier
William Bell
*Edward Gee
*Paul Lathom
John Harper
Richard Whitfield
James Wood
Mr. Johnson of Rochdale
John Tildesley
*Richard Hollworth
*John Harrison
Isaac Ambrose
James Bradshaw
Robert Bath

Another useful list of Clergy and Laymen forming the heads of the several classes, will be found in the Ordinance of Oct. 2, 1646, dividing *Lancashire* into nine *Classical Presbyteries ;* and another in the list of signatures of Clergy attached to the "Harmonious Consent" of the Ministers of Lancaster Province with those of their brethren, the Ministers of the Province of London, Mar. 3, 1647-8.

*The second Ordinance* (Dec. 17, 1644) relates to the "establishing a new Seale for the County Palatine of Lancaster," the Dutchy Seal belonging to the county having been "forcibly taken from Christopher Banister, Esq., Vice Chancellor, by the forces raised against the Parliament.

### GREENHAUGH CASTLE.

*Rushworth*, Part iv. Vol. 1, p. 22.

May 1645.—Lathom House and *Greenhaugh Castle*, are enumerated among the eight Garrisons north of Trent still holding out for the royal cause (respecting Greenhaugh, see Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, ii. 456). It was a garrison of Lord Derby's, near Garstang, omitted (probably on account of its insignificance) in the previous statements of the Journals, *subsequently* reduced and dismantled by the Parliament, and (as Dr. W. supposes) in consequence of an order of March 27, 1649.

### LATHOM OUTWORKS.

*Perfect Occurrences*, 28th Week, 4-11 July, 1645.

"Munday, July 7.—This day there came newes of the good successe of our forces in Lancashire against the enemies that nest in the garrisons at the Earl of Derbie's house. They kept there three garrisons. One is Latham House itself; the second is a gentleman's house, and the third is a house called the Lodge ; both within cannon shot of the first; and that garrison called the Lodge was kept by Irish rebels ever since we toke Lerpole (as I take it), for those rebels were they that had quarter given them when we took Liverpoole.

"Our forces having blocked up those rebels in this garrison, sent them a summons to deliver up the said garrison to the Parliament, but they refused, saying they would keep it for their good King, by whose authority they were put in there. Whereupon our forces placed their batteries, and plaid upon the House, and having made some breaches in it, marched up close to the enemy and stormed them ; and it was a very hot fight of both sides for the time it lasted, and we had divers hurt and some slaine, as in so hot a storme as that was could not be avoided ; but our men followed on so gallantly, that notwithstanding the violent opposition of the rebels, yet our men brake in upon them, killed and tooke them alle. So farre as they can perceive, a man escaped them not, of which good successe here followeth the list.

"A list of what was takene and how many slaine in the Enemies Garrison called the Lodge, at the Earl of Derbies at Latham House in Lancashire:

40 killed in the garrison
Divers wounded, some mortally
60 taken prisoners
The Governor hurt and taken
12 officers more killed and taken
1 suppose Popish priest taken

100 armes taken in the garrison
2 barrels of gunpowder, some skeans of match
All their bag and baggage, divers Popish bookes, beades, and crucifixes
All the men, Irish rebels, that keepe it.

"Another house is close besieged by Major Ashurst, and he hath planted pieces of batterie against it, and Latham House also is still besieged."

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Die Veneris, 29 Aug. 1645.

An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament for ordaining a *Committee in the County of Lancaster*. (Husbands, 718.)

§ 1. "The Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament do order and ordain that

Sir Ralph Ashton
Sir Robert Binloss—Barts.
Richard Hoghton
Ralph Ashton
Richard Shuttleworth
John Moor
Alexander Rigby
William Ashurst
Gilbert Ireland
Peter Egerton

Christopher Banister
John Bradshaw
George Dodding
John Starkey
Edw. Butterworth
Thomas Fell
Rowland Hunt
Richard Haworth
James Ashton of Chadderton

Edward Rigby
Thomas Birch
Alex. Rigby the younger
Nicholas Rigby of Harrock
Richard Ashton—Esquires
Nicholas Cunliffe
Henry Fleetwood
Robert Cunliffe
and
William Knip—Gentlemen

be a Committee for the County of Lancaster." General monthly meetings to be held at Preston, with power (besides what can be raised by sequestrations in the first instance) to assess the County by the rule of assessing called the Soldier's Lay.

§ 2, 3. Provisions for a standing Committee of Seven (at the least), to meet at Preston, &c.

4. Alexander Norris, of Boulton, Gent. to be Treasurer, with his duties.

5. Directions to reduce all forces in pay in the said County to two regiments of foot and one of horse. Officers to be appointed by the Committee. No deputy lieutenant having an estate in Lancashire, or member of Committee, to be a colonel or officer in these regiments.

6. Provisions as to pay of the same.

7. Provisions as to appointments of commissary of musters, keeper of magazines, &c. with order that no person unfit in the judgment of seven or more of the

Committee "to be intrusted with arms, shall reside or dwell within any of the towns of Manchester, Warrington, Liverpool, Lancaster, Clithero, or Preston." Every inhabitant of the same to bear arms or provide a substitute, unless judged unable by seven or more of the Committee.

8. Directions for payments on account of the said forces, arms, or ammunition, as the major part of the Committee may direct.

9. Provisions as to meeting claims for arrears of pay or other demands from any commander or officer in said county.

10. Repeal of previous Ordinances. Nothing in this to take away from anything granted in the Ordinance for the Northern Association; and the Committee to "see this Ordinance duly, speedily, and strictly put in execution."

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### Fall of Lathom.

*Perfect Diurnall*, No. 123, 1-8 Dec. 1645.

Saturday, Dec. 6, p. 990.—"This evening, after the House was up, there came letters to the Speaker of the Commons House, of the surrender of Latham House in Lancashire, belonging to the Earl of Derby, which his Lady, the Countesse of Derby, proving herselfe of the two the better souldier, hath above these two yeares kept in opposition to our forces that blocked up the same, but it is now surrendered, and by which meanes the whole County of Lancashire is absolutely freed and reduced under the obedience of the Parliament, the enemy having not any one garrison in that County.

"The taking of this place gives faire probabillity of the more speedy reducing of *Chester*, whither no doubt these Lancashire forces will next move to assist the besiegers, or else against Skipton in Yorkshire, as there shall be occasion.

"The conditions agreed on at the surrender of the place were briefly thus:

"The Governour alone to have his horse, armes, and £10 in money. The rest, both officers and souldiers, to march away without armes or money to the next garrison of the King's, either Sidbury or Ashby-de-la-Zouch, and those that would to have liberty to go to their own dwellings.

"There were taken in the House 12 pieces of ordnance, all theire armes and ammunition, and greate store of rich prize and pillage."

A copy of the conditions of the surrender (stated to be transcribed from a MS. at Browsholme Hall, in the possession of T. L. Parker, Esq.) is printed in Gregson's *Lancashire Fragments*, p. 248. These conditions are dated *Dec.* 2, and stipulate for the place being given up on the following day; but Ryves (*Mercurius Belg.*) gives *Dec.* 4 as the date of the actual surrender.

In this second siege, the government of the fortress, for such it had really become under the direction of Rupert's engineers, appears to have been entrusted to

Col. Rawstorne. The seeming errors of the journals in speaking of Lord Derby's presence in the House, and of Lady Derby's second display of masculine courage, are noticed in a later part, CHAP. XIII., relative to Lord Derby's retirement at this period to the Isle of Man.

The account of the defence, as given by Seacome (*Memoirs*, 113, 119) may be stated as follows: that *Prince Rupert, recommending to the Earl to retire to Man with his Countess and children*, appointed *Captain Edw. Rostherne governor*, with the rank of colonel, under whose care the Hall (newly fortified under Rupert's direction) was supplied with *provisions and ammunition* to make up for what had been consumed by the Royal army, or carried off by them to Marston Moor.

The Royalist cavalry was commanded by Major Munday and Captain Kay; the infantry by Captains Charnock, Farrington, Molyneux Radcliffe, Henry Nowel, Worral, and Roby. Archdeacon Rutter was also considered a valuable addition to the garrison.

The first advance of the besiegers is fixed in July 1644, with four thousand men, under General Egerton; and in consequence of a successful sally, the besiegers are stated to have received so severe a check, as for twelve months to have been unwilling to advance nearer than Ormskirk, but subsequently to have commenced regular approaches.

It is then stated that the King was anxious to have raised the siege in person; but that (on being prevented by the defeat of his own troops on Rowton Heath, near Chester, Sept. 24, 1645), he requested the governor to accept terms.

Commissioners are thereupon stated to have been appointed, who procured honourable offers to the garrison, with a stipulation that Lady Derby should have a third of the Earl's estate, with conveyance of his goods to Knowsley for Lord Derby's and her use, and other stipulations in favour of the gentlemen in the mansion, and clergy beneficed by the family.

But it is added, that on one of the Lathom commissioners breaking off the treaty, because the cannon were not allowed to be removed, which was followed by an Irish soldier swimming the moat, and betraying the state of the garrison,—a peremptory summons to surrender on bare terms of mercy was accepted tumultuously, the governor not being heard in a proposal to cut through the Parliament forces. The *conditions before-mentioned* (in p. 211), nevertheless, seem to have been granted.

It does not appear precisely when the Earl and Countess left Lathom for Man, agreeably to Rupert's advice in June 1644. The *London Post* (see previously, p. 206) mentions the Earl being in the House in the beginning of September following. An inaccurate idea seems to have been entertained by the journalists that the Countess was in the fortress during this second siege, as shown by the remark above. The *Scottish Dove* (No. 112, p. 887) observes, under the same impression, Lathom "hath cost much blood at several times; and it was a place that the

Oxford Serpent, *Aulicus* [Sir John Birkenhead, editor of that journal] hath much gloried in, and highly magnified the valour of the Countesse of Derby, whose house it was; who, it seems, stole the Earle's breeches, when he fled long since into the Isle of Man, and hath in his absence play'd the man at Lathom; but the best man may be conquered, and so is Lady Derby."

### ORDER OF PARLIAMENT FOR A COLLECTION FOR THE POOR OF MANCHESTER.

9th Dec. 1645. (Husband's Collection, p. 768.)

"Whereas the Town of *Manchester*, in the County of *Lancaster*, one of the first towns in *England* that in this great cause stood for their just defence against the opposition and attempts of a very powerful army, hath for a long time been so sore visited with the Pestilence that for many moneths none were permitted either to go in or to come out of the said town, whereby most of the inhabitants (living upon trade) are not only ruined in their estates, but many families like to perish for want, who cannot be sufficiently relieved by that miserably wasted countrey; It is therefore ordered that there be a collection for the poor of the said town, in all the Churches and Chappels within the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and lines of communication, upon the next Lord's Day, being the 14 of this instant *December*, and the moneys so collected to be set down and subscribed on the back of this order by the minister and other church officers within every Parish and Place abovesaid, and by them to be paid unto Mr. *Thomas Stone*, Mr. *Henry Ashurst*, Mr. *James Waynwright*, and Mr. *Thomas Marckland*, citizens of the City of *London*, who are to convey the same with all possible speed to Mr. *John Hartley* of *Manchester*, to be equally distributed amongst the said poor inhabitants, as shall be agreed upon by the officers and chief persons of the said town of *Manchester*."

See also, respecting the miserable state of Manchester about this period, "*the only town untouched by the enemy, and the only town stricken of God*," some remarkable passages in Hibbert's *History of the Public Foundations in Manchester*, extracted from *Queen Esther's Resolves*, a Sermon on *Esther* iv. 16, preached by Warden Heyrick before the House of Commons, on the fast day of May 7, 1746, and in the King's Collection, British Museum.—*Hibbert*, i. 241.

### LANCASHIRE FORCES REMOVED FROM LATHOM TO SIEGE OF CHESTER.

*Perfect Diurnall*, No. 124, 8-15 Dec. 1645.

Tuesday, Dec. 9 (p. 994).—Mention of the King being still in Oxford, making "*great preparations of horse once more to attempt the relieving of Chester*," and of letters from the leaguer mentioning scarcity of provisions in the city, and probable surrender within three weeks; "and the better to prevent any relief comming to them, the House of Commons, this day, on a letter from Sir *William Brereton*, ordered that Col. *Booth*, with the *Lancashire forces* that were at the *taking of Latham*, should joyne with Sir *William* against *Chester*, and that 2000 Horse and Foot should be designed to lie in the way on this side Chester, in case any reliefe should be intended."

The Lancashire forces accordingly marched to Chester, under the command of Col. Booth; "and such dispositions were made that the city was quite encompassed, nor was any place more straightly beleaguered."—*Hist. Chesh.* i. 207.

The defence nevertheless was protracted to Feb. 3, 1645-6, when Sir William Brereton took possession. A day of public thanksgiving was appointed for Feb. 19, when a sermon was preached before the Lords of Parliament at St. Martin's by Joseph Caryl (from *Luke* x. 20), which was afterwards published under the title of *Joy outjoyed*, but does not contain any historical particulars.

## Final Surrender of Royalist Fortresses.

*Newcastle*, June 10, 1646.—*Royal Warrant to Sir Tho. Glenham, Sir Tho. Tildesley, Cols. Washington and Blagge*, Governors of Oxford, *Lichfield*, Worcester, and Wallingford, and all other commanders of any Towns, Castles and Forts, in our Kingdom of England,—to quit the same, and disband all their forces. (*Rushworth*, part iv. vol. i. 276; *Clarendon*, v. 417, ed. 1826.)

*Lichfield*, July 10, 1646.—*Articles of Surrender* between Walter, Lord Aston, &c. (Commissioners named by Sir Tho. Tyldesley, Kt.) and the Parliamentary Commissioners, on certified information "*that the King hath no armye in the field to the number of one hundred men, nor any one Garrison unbesieged.*"—Shaw's *Staffordshire*, and Harwood's *Lichfield*, p. 34.

# GOOD SERVICE HITHERTO ILL REWARDED.

*OR*,

## An Hiſtoricall Relation of eight yeers Services for KING and PARLIAMENT done in and about *Manchester* and thoſe parts.

*By* Lieu: Col. JOHN ROSWORM.

* * *

*LONDON:*
Printed in the Yeer, 1649.

# Chapter XI.

## THE NARRATIVE OF LIEUT. COL. ROSWORM, PRINCIPAL ENGINEER OF THE GARRISON OF MANCHESTER, GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF TRANSACTIONS IN WHICH HE BORE A PART FROM 1642 TO 1648 INCLUSIVE.

*(Reprinted from the Original Tract, printed* 1649.*)*

THE following Tract, which is of great local interest, and of extraordinarity rarity, was reintroduced to the public, in 1822, in a limited impression, from a MS. copy of the same then in the possession of Mr. William Yates, and lent by him for the purpose of publication to the editor of it, Mr. John Palmer of Manchester, architect, who prefixed an interesting account of the siege, compiled from scarce or original documents.

If the present Editor had been unable to obtain access to a printed copy, it was his intention to have used a transcript of one formerly in the library of the late Dr. Ferriar, and which was the only copy that he had heard of, until the deficiency was supplied by the kindness of Mr. Crossley. Under his permission, a transcript has been made with literal exactness from an original printed copy of this rare Tract, preserved in his extensive collection, by Mr. Henry Mere Ormerod, son of the Editor, for the use of the present publication.

As to the unfortunate author of the Tract—a brave and skilful soldier, tried in the German wars—it is sufficient to add to his own narrative, that his important services were the fortifications of Manchester, Liverpool, and the passes of Blackstone-edge,—a personal share in the battles or sieges of Leigh, Chowbent, Preston, Wigan, Warrington, Manchester, Liverpool, and Nantwich. He had also the almost exclusive direction of Manchester during the plague, in which he displayed, amidst all his distresses and wrongs, fidelity incorruptible by the gold and promises of Derby or Rupert, the latter of whom passed Rosworm untouched when he was marching in fury upon Bolton and Liverpool.

The scope of this work only allows the Editor to add that several entries relative to Rosworm's family occur in the registers of Manchester Collegiate Church, as he is informed by Mr. Palmer, to whose kindness he is also indebted for the following extract from the municipal accounts of Manchester. To these he adds the Orders of Parliament in 1644, and a notice of President Bradshaw's Letter in 1649 (confirming the accuracy of Rosworm's statements), as well as Rosworm's own Petition in 1651, from a broadside in the British Museum.

The references in the Index will also give an opportunity of testing the injured engineer's accuracy, by comparison with the other accounts of the events in which he bore a principal part.

To the

# Honorable House of Commons assembled in Parliament.

*Honorable Gentlemen,*

This poore piece would gladly begge an houre from You, at Your best leisure ; In it You will see the multiplied wrongs, and sad Extremities of a faithfull stranger. The honour of doing me justice is reserved for You. When You read this, think such a one Your Petitioner, as abhors all faithlesse and indirect courses, and therefore must unavoidably perish without Your sudden succour.

It is in You to prevent what I cannot but fear ; which done accordingly, the Earth shall not bear a more thankfull Remembrancer, than

*Your most humble Servant,*

***John Rosworm.***

To the
*Right Honourable*
*Thomas* Lord *Fairfax*
Generall of all the Forces in
England and Ireland,
*John Bradshaw*
Lord President of *England*,
*Oliver Cromwell*
Lieutenant Generall of the Armies.

Right Honorable,

I Would it were not my unhappiness to see the day, wherein I should trouble You with such a sad story, as here I am bold humbly to present You. In it you will see, the faithfulnesse of a Servant, the Rewards of his Service, the Extremities he is in, and his encouraged hopes of finding relief from you.

His Petitions, I hope, will shortly find your eyes, or eares, or both : Oh let them not want your hearts, of which I cannot doubt, if your leisure will suffer you to peruse this naked Relation. I trouble you no more, but with this onely addition, that I shall ever be a most thankfull Historian of the reparation you shall afford me. And be

*Your most faithfull and*
*humble Servant*
*John Rosworme.*

# AN
# HISTORICALL
## Relation of Lieut. Coll.
## *Rosworms* Service and
## Rewards, since the first beginning
## of *these Wars.*

THen certainly, if ever, may a man speak of his well done Services, when either a just Relation of them, may be the remedy of his present miseries, or a feeble ease of his overburdened heart: both these at this time have an influence upon me; glad would I be, if the former end might prove successefull. And truly why should I not hope it? But if Equity and Reason hath left *England*, if I and mine must not starve, perish, famish, that have been a means to preserve others from such dreadful ends, when they whom I served, both can, and should, and may, and that most easily discharge their obligations to me, and therein succour me. If it must be so, I shall yet have a little ease in letting the world know both what I have done, and how I have been dealt with; in either of which if I blot one line with a falsehood I make no question, but some of my backfriends will labour to let as many see their teeth, as I desire may see the truth. Which as briefly and orderly as I can, I shall now begin.

Having at the beginning of the *Irish* Insurrection upon just discontents forsaken that Kingdom, I came into *England*, and particularly to *Manchester*, where I fastened my strangers home; I had not lived there three months, before the differences of this Kingdom were heightned into a War, and all parts were full of confusion. The Town of *Manchester*, amongst others, apprehending a manifest danger of ruine, from the Earl of *Darby* and his strength, who appeared for the King; having none that knew what belonged to military affairs, either for offence, or defence, and having observed, and heard of me that I was bred up in Souldiery from my youth, well skilled in Fortifications, nor contemptibly furnished with all other military abilities: propounded and concluded with me a contract under hand and seal, for half a yeer, engaging me by the utmost of my advice and skill, to endeavour the security of their Town, and engaging themselves, in consideration of my service for that time, to pay me 30 li. we agreed accordingly. I must be bold to say, that my undertaking of this Service (though for a poore reward) as it was not small in itself; so it proved in the consequents as considerable, both to the weakning of the Kings party, and the strengthning of the Parliaments, as any action in that kinde, through the passages of that yeer: for (let it be considered) foure for one in that Town, if not more, favoured my Lord of *Darby*, and had publickly vowed to cut my throat, if ever I attempted any works to keep him out. The other party which favoured my undertakings, were full of fears, and confusions, not knowing which way to turn themselves: the Town in all it's entrances, open, and without any defence about it; A powerfull Enemy continually expected to come upon them, which within three weeks of our Contract fell out: surely these were circumstances, which might easily have made it lawfull to fear, and in that fear to decline a service of this nature: But being desirous to do the Town the best office, that either I could do, or they could wish, I put my life in my hand, I over-looked all dangers and difficulties, and undertook this Charge, which how I have discharged, let the world judge.

By the way observe, that the very next morning after my Contract, my Lord of *Darby* sent two Gentlemen to me, with 150 l. as a Present from his Lordship, with an invitation to attend him at *Latham.* Twas easie to see what the drift of this kindnesse was. But 30 l. if backed with my promise, contract, or engagement, I have ever learned to value above all offers; honesty being more worth than gold. Returning therefore my thanks for the Earls noblenesse, and the money with my thanks, I dismissed these Gentlemen and addressed myself to my trust.

My first aime was to set up good Posts and Chains to keep out the Enemies Horse; which by the contrivance of a false Alarum, and by the help of the Countreys coming in, upon the ringing of the Bels backwards, devised purposely for this end, I safely performed, though many tongues had doomed me to death, if ever I attempted it. This was done upon Wednesday the 22 of *September* 1642.

Having by this devise drawn some armed men into the Town, I earnestly pressed, that they might be carefully provided for, heartned and encouraged; for I was confident, that within lesse than a week, that the Enemy would make a reall approach, and then these men would stead us; they took my advice; and my prediction fell out accordingly.

In that small time of preparation which I had, I fortified and barricadoed up every streets end, with the addition of Mud-wals, which were unfinished when the Earl came upon us, I advised how our men should be assigned through each part about the Town; But *Salford*-bridge, the onely place of manifest danger, greatest action, and least defence, upon others refusall, I undertook myself: though by my engagements I was not bound to fight at all, but to advise, and direct onely.

For this service *Septemb.* the 28,[1] I took with me 50 Muskettiers: we lay there till Munday without action.

Munday, *Septemb.* 27, I was necessitated to send 20 of my Muskettiers to Captain Bradshaw at the Deans-gate which never returned: that afternoon, though thus weakened, I was numerously assaulted: but through the goodnesse of him, who saved us, my 30 Muskettiers (having no Brest-work but a Chain) gave them a sound repulse.

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[1] A typographical error, *according to Rosworm's calculation,* for 26th, but *really* for Sept. 25th, all his dates of the Siege being *one* day in advance of the correct one. His position on Salford Bridge, for instance, was secured on Sunday, Sept. 25, and Lord Strange's assault commenced on Monday, Sept. 26. See pp. 44, 49, 52.

The next day, *Septemb.* 28, the Enemy plaid at us with his great Peeces, which being a strange noise, and terrour to my raw men, sixteen of them took their heels; the rest, some for fear of my drawn sword, others out of gallantry, resolving rather to dye, than to forsake me, stuck close to me, and to the safety of their Town. I was now few in number, but found some pitie from some other gallant hearts, who voluntarily came in to my assistance, making up my number 28. And this was my huge Army even then, when I had not onely many Enemies without, but dangerous temptations within to deal with. For the Enemy finding their assault not to take successe, nor their Cannons to terrifie us, as at the first, severall parleys sore against my will, were sent into the Town: whereof I gave my Souldiers a little notice, with incouragements to stand out, to the utmost.

Particularly, Wednesday, *Septemb.* 29, the Earl offered upon the delivery of some 100 Muskets to withdraw his Forces, and march away. To back this offer, Collonel *Holland* understanding my aversenesse, earnestly pressed me to condescend to the motion, using withall these three Reasons. First, said he, we have neither Powder nor Match. I confesse I had onely six pound of the one and 18 fathome of the other: but this was onely known to my self. Secondly, the Countreymen (said he, though falsely,) will stay no longer, their own houses and goods lying open to the mercy of the Enemie. Thirdly, said he, the Enemy is increased in strength. With these arguments did he not only urge, but almost command the embracing of the Earls Proposals. I related these things to my Souldiers, who unanimously resolving never to yeeld to my Lord of *Darby*, so long as I would stand out, and they had an inch of Match, or a shot of Powder: my heart leaped at such courage, and thereupon I peremptorily refused any terms whatever. Which so passionately moved Collonel *Holland*, that he left me in great anger and discontent. Immediately after this, Master *Bourne*, an aged and grave Minister, came down to the Bridge to me. I told him Collonel *Hollands* language, and the dangerous concernment it tended to; I advised him, that if he desired to prevent the mischief which might ensue, he would immediately walk to the *Deansgate*, and from thence to the other Centuries, using his best encouragements to prop up their hearts against any dangers; and assuring them from me, that whereas the Enemy now made no assaults but where I was, I was confident with the help of Almighty God, and my few men, to defend it against their whole Power, nor should they ever enter at my guard. The heartned old man quickly left me, and followed my advice, with such gravity and chearfulnesse, that I cannot but ascribe much to it, as to the means of our preservation. Having thus prevailed for a refusall of all terms, sent in by the Enemy, our height of resolution to defend ourselves to the utmost was returned to the Earl; who finding by our actions that we spake as we meant, within 3 dayes after, withdrew this siege, and gave me leave with about ten of my men in open view, to fetch away a great number of good Arms from them.

Thus was *Manchester* freed from the danger of her first brunt; wherein how farre I was instrumentall, if impartiall men cannot see, I will appeal from them to my Enemies; If either can deny me an acknowledgement, I am content the world should be blinde, and what I have done should be buried: But was the safetie of *Manchester*, the whole of *Manchesters* safetie? He that shall view in a Prospective the state of things at that time in the Kingdome, must yet see more, my Lord of *Essex* had then at that instant no great Forces, and those very remote from those parts. And surely if the actions of *Manchester* had not sufficiently ballanced the Earl of *Darbies* Forces, or had that Town yeelded either to his Assaults or Proposals, *Lancashire*, and all those associated Counties had been at his service; and the whole Souldery therein at his disposing; which with his own Souldiers would have made up at least 9000 well armed fighting men, besides Horse. These joyned to his Majesties Body, who onely wanted Infantery, would have made such an Army as in human reason could not have found an opposition strong enough from all the Parliaments Forces, which at that time could be brought together. These concernements I onely touch at, because, though my heart would break, if I should not let the world know, how I have served, and am served; yet I have no minde to draw my own picture. Onely one thing more let me adde, to do my self a little right, since none else hitherto have done. This Town was not onely a foyl to an assaulting Enemy, but a strength, help, and Magazine to all the adjacent Counties, as they stood engaged for the Parliaments service. But of this enough.

The Earl of *Darby* having afforded me a vacancy by his departure, I throughly set my self to raise up my Works of Fortification about the Town, during the residue of that half yeer, for which my Contract was made: In which I did not onely prosecute that to my utmost, by my directions, but having declared my judgement, that unlesse we did something speedily against the Earl, he would get head again, and do us new mischief: We thereupon gathered our Forces together, went out, and upon *Decemb.* 24 we shattered the enemy at *Shewbent,* and the same night we took *Leigh* by assault, returning again within three dayes.[1]

I was now so observed for my faithfulnesse and successe, that *Januar.* 2d following I was unexpectedly honoured with a Commission from my Lord *Wharton,* to be Lieutenant Coll. of a Foot Regiment to Coll. *Ashton,* with which *Febr.* 6 I was commanded by Serjeant Major-General *Seaton,* to joyne with Coll. *Hollands* Regiment, and to attempt Preston, which was accordingly taken by assault, *Febr.* 8.[2] And afterwards at Serjeant Major Generall

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[1] Successive fights took place at Chowbent and Leigh, of which the first are noticed in *A True and Full Relation,* p. 64, and the second in the *Valley of Achor,* p. 125. Roseworm here refers to the latter.

[2] Preston was assaulted a little before sunrise on the morning of *Thursday, Feb.* 9. See pp. 71, 73. Rosworm dates the time Feb. 8, considering it to be in the *night* of Wednesday.

*Seatons*, and the Deputy Lieutenant's request, was fortified by my direction.

I kept this command of Lieutenant Coll. during the residue of my half yeers service contracted for with the Town of *Manchester*, which being now expired, they then observed, what they cannot without shame remember now, that I was both trustie and successefull. They were loath to for-go such a servant, and therefore propounded new terms to me, offering me an annuity of 60 li. per annum, to be paid 15 li. quarterly, during the lives both of my self and wife, which should survive the longest, if I would by my advice prosecute the finishing of their Fortifications, and the ordering of all Military affairs conducing to the safetie of the Town, and upon all occasions be ready to give directions accordingly. At the same time also they with the Deputy Lieutenants desired me to accept of a Foot Company in the Garrison of *Manchester*, engaging themselves to maintain it, as long as it was a Garrison, and to pay me 40s. per week in part of my Captains pay, and the rest was to go upon the publick Faith. I was pressed to accept this so importunately on their part, and by one reason so strongly within myself, which was, that by embracing the first of these Proposals, I should not leave a desolate Widow without a poore subsistence, in case a warlike end should befall myself, that I layed down my Lieutenants Collonels Commission, and closed with their Contract; and is this circumstance nothing to chain these men to their promises? Those hearts certainly are deeply rooted in the Earth, which Reason, Equity, Conscience, nay and shame, cannot pull out with such ropes.

My Engagement being past, I returned to my Charge, enlarged my Fortifications, left nothing unprepared, as time would permit, which might not make an Enemy a strong work to attempt me.

Whilest I was prosecuting these things, I was sollicited, *April* the 1, 1643, by the Deputy Lieutenants to attend and assist our Forces, against *Wigan;* for indeed the Souldiers declared themselves discontented, if I went not along with them. I went accordingly, being loath that those should want any of my service, who had afforded me such roome in their hearts; nor were we without a happy successe in our attempt, for by a gallant assault, chiefly of Collonel *Ashtons* men, we took that strong town in less than an houre. The Town being taken, to my best remembrance, we sent 500 Muskettiers of Collonel *Ashtons* men to secure *Bolton*, not far from us. Whilest the Town was taken, the Enemy having for a refuge observed and fitted the Church and steeple adjoyning for their advantage, fled thither as many as could, and killed from thence, I dare say, more men, after the taking of the Town, than we had lost in the whole assault besides. Whilest we struggled with this difficulty, an Alarum was sent us from the Enemy; I went speedily with some few Horse to view the state they stood in. I found them onely three slender troops of Horse, who observing us to present a resolute face towards them, they instantly tried their heels, and gave us language enough in their disorder, to tell us we need not trouble ourselves with such Enemies. I returned with what hast I could, with the truth in my mouth, but found Collonel *Holland* in such a shaking agony of fear, that he was ready to march away with all our Forces, consisting of 2000 Foot, most part good Muskettiers, the rest Club and Bill men, and to my best remembrance about 200 or 300 horse, besides eight Peece of Ordnance, and no want either of ammunition or provisions. And surely with this Force I durst have seen the face of the greatest Enemies we had about us, though conjoyned at that time. Having this confidence, I earnestly desired him not to leave that Garrison so fearfully, that was won so gallantly; or if he would not stay himself, to leave me 500 Muskettiers, and one troop of Horse, and clear me of the Prisoners, of which we had already good store, and I would entertain any attempt of the Enemie, and prosecute the rest of the service touching the Town, which was yet unfinished. His answer was, Stay, that stay would, he nor any of his men, either would or should stay. I could almost have torn my flesh at this answer; yet suppressing my passion, with deep intreaties, and repeated perswasions, he was at length wrought so farre, as to promise a stay till I had forced those who had possessed the advantage of the Church steeple wholly to surrender; I having assured him that I would either do it, or otherwise in one houre blowe them up, he gave me his hand to assure me of his stay. I thereupon first summoned them, but in vain. I prepared for execution, the event whereof startling the Enemy, they all surrendered, being 86 in number. But whilest I was receiving their Arms, and making preparation for their Convoy, Collonel *Holland* (for alas who can settle a trembling heart?) marched away with all the Forces, left me with one Company onely, (these also fearing their inabilitie to deal with so many prisoners, forsaking me) engaged amongst 400 prisoners, many good Arms, two great Peeces of Ordnance, in the middest of a Town where generally all the Towns-people were great Malignants. Being thus wholly forsaken by all, I was forced first to run to finde my Horse, and then to flie for my life, which in such a danger was most strangely saved.

All that adhered to the Parliament through the whole Kingdome, and knew the circumstances of this assault, rejoyced at the taking and supposed keeping of *Wigan*, as a considerable service; it being thought an impregnable piece, the enemies pride, and our fear; onely Collonel *Holland* seemed to be troubled that I perished not in the action; and therefore finding that I survived his treacherie in leaving me in the midst of so many enraged Enemies, as I before shewed, did the best he could to destroy me and my family a worse way. For presently upon the taking of that Town, as a noble gratuity for that service, and yet saving my own life, the 40s. per week as part of my Captains pay (the onely main pillar of my family expences) was by Collonel *Hollands* command, subscribing 2 hands more for the countenancing of his unworthinesse, taken away from me, upon this pretence, that I had not taken the Covenant, and was suspended for above a yeer; during all which time notwithstanding, I was still kept in my employment.

I cannot forget that about that time, and many times since, I received severall Letters of acknowledgement from some eminent persons in the Kingdom, but I could feed neither my dog, nor my cat with them, much lesse my horses, which I have kept alwayes at my own expences in the service, though afterwards upon second thoughts some of my charges were allowed me: but as for my family, who could not live upon the bare return of my expences, I was compelled to trie an unhappy experiment, whether I could feed them with *I thank you.* But enough of this.

*Wigan* service done, and undone, for which I was payed accordingly, I came to my charge at *Manchester,* whence not long after I was desired to ride to *Lever-pool,* to direct the Fortifications there. I stayed there five dayes, without any reward.

*March* 11, after my return thence, I, besides many more out of *Manchester* and the County, was summoned up by Warrant to attend the Committee of Examinations upon the 15 of *April* next after, and to give in our Informations touching Collonel *Hollands* actions, where all this, and divers things more were justified to his face, as his perfidious dealings at *Wigan,* his actions touching Mr. *Peter Heywood,* and his eagernesse in urging me to deliver up *Manchester,* when I kept *Salford-bridge* at the first. But his great friends in the house prevailed for his escape, accounting it perhaps a sufficient punishment that he was so publickly shamed. Whereas if I had been guilty of the like, I am sure the Law of Armes would have condemned and executed me for bad service, that am sought to be famished for good.

About *July* 4 after, the Earl of *Newcastle* with no small Force made an angry approach towards *Lancashire,* our men were sent out to oppose his passage, nor was I thought fit to be present at this action. The issue was, our men were soundly beaten at *Wisked-hill* in *Yorkshire,* and pursued into *Lancashire* by the Enemy, who quickly also possessed himself of *Hallifax,* about 16 miles distant from us. When I had received this sad intelligence, I informed myself of the nature of the passes, by which the Enemy could most easily come in upon us; and finding them capable of a sudden Fortification, by the consent of the Deputy Lieutenants, I quickly helped Nature with Art, strengthning *Blackestone Edge,* and *Blackegate,* and manning them with Souldiers, to prevent the

Earls dangerous approach, by which meanes being diverted, like an angry storme with a gust, he went to the siege of *Hull*.

How considerable this diversion of so powerfull an Enemy was, let reason judge; for certainly, whereas he never reached his end at *Hull*, if he had gotten in amongst us, we were not onely in a manifest danger of being overrun by an enraged Enemy, but all parts within an ordinary distance would have felt the smarting bitternesse of his heavy hands.

1643, *Jan.* 19[1] following, I received order from Sir *Thomas Fairfax* to accompany his Forces to the relieving of *Nantwitch*, at that time closely besieged by the Enemy. Where how I discharged the trust reposed in me, I leave to the testimony of his Excellency, whose name I shall alwayes remember with honour.

*Nantwitch* relieved, I repaired to my home, where I have with my utmost skill nourished a company of vipers, who in recompence would eat my bowels.

From thence I was once more, *Aug.* 16, 1644, commanded by Sir *John Meldrum* to attend him to the siege of *Leverpoole*, which continued full ten weeks. I there served as Master of the Ordnance, gave directions for divers Works. In a word, I failed not in any thing which could be expected from me during the siege; it was surrendred *Novemb.* 4.[2] For all which, and many other services, I am to this day unrewarded.

And now I come to my last actions, not a little conducing to the great shame and dishonour of *Manchester*, and the farther evidences of my own honesty.

After the siege of *Leverpoole*, the Parliament with a great Force layed siege to *York;* to raise this siege, Prince Rupert made an hastie and a furious march, with a very great Army; so that from the beginning of these Wars, there were not two such numerous Armies, nor so fiercely resolved each against the other, as met at length upon the occasion of that siege; Prince *Rupert* well noting that there were two wayes to raise this siege, which was the whole of his work and designe, the one by policy, the other by force, left nothing unattempted. His politicall method lay no where so strongly for his end, as to corrupt me for the betraying of *Manchester,* wherein had he sped, *Yorke* siege would have raised of itself. To effect this Prince *Rupert* joyned my Lord *Byron* to himself in the transactions; and having the advantage of one Mr. *Peter Heywood,* by his means laboured with me for the betraying of the Town.

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[1] According to the present style, 1644; usually written 1643-4. See p. 154.

[2] Liverpool surrendered on Friday, Nov. 1. See p. 207.

This Mr. *Peter Heywood,* who at this time sits at his ease, and enjoyes his own, whilest I for want of it endure extreme miserie, was a Captain in *Lancashire* for the Parliament, was often in our private consultations; and by holding intelligence with the Enemy, did us much mischief. He went oft to *Chester*, *Oxford*, and other Garrisons of the Enemie, discovering our secret results. This being at length found out, and proved against him, he was secured by the Committee; and yet, without the consent of the rest of the Committee, contrary to an Ordinance touching such cases, released by Coll. *Holland;* two of his friends also being bound for his appearance, which never were questioned, though he presently upon his enlargement went to the Enemy, and was afterwards thought the onely fit instrument to work me to this treacherie.

His method was, first to take advantage of the injurious and most unthankfull vnworthinesse, which the Town had used towards me, stirring those passions in me, which he knew were deeply provoked. This done, he offered in the behalf of Prince *Rupert,* that I should have a very great summe of money payed me in my hand, before my delivery of the Town, that I should have great preferments under Prince *Rupert;* besides the perpetuall obligations of affection and honour from many most noble friends, which I should look upon as purchased by the desert of such a seasonable and usefull service.

I was not so little a fool, though I never meant to be a knave, but I gave the propounder audience, gave some incouragement to the businesse, so much as to fish out which way the Enemy would lay his stratagem, and to secure myself from suspicion on their part, appointed them a time of receiving their hopes. And I must needs say, I could with more ease have sold them, man, woman and childe, with all they had into their Enemies hands, than at any time I could have preserved them. But, alas, I should then have been a *Manchester* man, for never let an unthankfull man, and a promise-breaker, have another name.

When I had found out the bottome of the plot, and searched out the method of their intention, immediately I sent for six of the chief Men of the Town, layed open the whole designe, told them how to prevent the danger, laboured night and day to get our Cannons to the Work, repaired our Mudwals, as well as time would suffer. In a word, left nothing uncared for, which was necessary to entertain an assault. But the Enemie having got some intelligence of our actions by our treacherous friends, or homebred enemies, when he had marched within one or two miles of *Manchester* at his appointed time, having notice of an hot entertainment, instead of *Manchester*, steared his course another way.

I must not forget here a new peece of wrong, *Manchester* and the whole Kingdom received from Coll. *Holland*, at this time, that very morning which I had discovered the plot, Coll. *Holland* had summoned the souldiers of *Salford* Hundred, consisting of almost 4000 Muskettiers to my best remembrance. He was desired by us at *Manchester*, that these Souldiers might quarter in or near the town, that they might assist us in times of danger: But how were we answered? He disbanded these men, went away, left us to our selves, there being no established Souldiers in the Town at that time: but that one single Company under my command, and some few of Major *Radliffs* Company, which, with all that could be perswaded to look to the security of their lives and livelihoods, made not up so many Muskettiers, as to double our guards, much lesse reasonably to enable us against a resolute enemies attempt. Nor was our distresse without many aggravating circumstances, for besides the decay of our Mudwals, and the unmounting of our Cannons, we know not who to trust. The infinite toyl, pains, and indefatigable industry, night and day, which I used at this time, all that had eyes in that Town saw, and all that have tongues can witnesse; insomuch that the ablest, and richest of those who had engaged themselves for my Annuity, being overcome with the consideration of my pains, and the shining evidences of my fidelity, gave me deep protestations and promises, that if ever the hand of Providence should lead them to peace again, and that Trading might once again flourish, they would out of their own private purses, enlarge my reward; particularly foure of the six to whom I first discovered the Enemies stratagem, specified their summes. Mr. *Johnson* promised me 10 li. Mr. *Gaskell* 20 li. Mr. *Hunt* 30. Mr. *Hartly* 40 li. yeerly, as long as I lived. But, alas, when our distresse was over, which lasted a week, this smoke vanished. The issue was this, that whereas Coll. *Holland* (who ever hath been as you may see all along) the bountifull rewarder, encourager, and furtherer of my good services) had suspended my 40s. *per* week, part of my Captains pay, for a whole yeer, they drew a most importunate Petition to the House, for the arrears of my pay, and continuance of it, for the time to come; recommending me also for some noble gratuity agreeable to my deserts and quality. This Petition begot me an order for my discontinued pay, and a recommendation from the House to *Manchester* for my Annuity. It was dated, *Sept.* 4. 1644. This being granted me, through much importunity, and great expences on my part, my 40s. *per* week was payed me till Octob. 9. 1647.

I shall onely add one more evidence of my faithfulnesse to this ungratefull Town. The Summer after Prince *Ruperts* diversion, it pleased God to lay his heavy hand of plague upon us, which, ranging according to his direction, left no part unvisited; becoming, indeed, such a sad object, that our very miseries were as great a guard to us against our Enemies, as the cries of them were strong for a publick commiseration from our friends. The Pestilence in a little time grew so hot, that it not onely occasioned most of the richest to depart with their whole families, but moved also the Warden and the other Minister to desire me with my family to withdraw not far from the Town, that, if occasion were, I might from thence readily serve the danger and extremities, which might befall it from the Enemie: I think few men would have blamed me, if having stayed thus long, I had left the town upon such importunitie. But conceiving myself as strongly tyed to look to the goods and estates of those that were gone, as one of the Ministers thought himself charged to look to the souls of those there remaining; I waved all fear, and resolved personally to serve my trust, leaving my death to him, that once gave, and often before had spared my life. And truly my resolution herein, I must be bold to say, was not a little courtesie to this Town; as both I foresaw how things would, and afterwards did come to passe. For Major *Ratcleifs* and his Company having withdrawn, and quartered themselves without the works for fear of the plague, myself having onely 12. Muskettiers, whose hearts stood fixed to run my hazard, the poore, many of whom were at the pest-houses without, and the rest within, entered into a dangerous combination, with about a dozen of the middle sort of men, that were within, to take advantage of our weaknesse and nakednesse, and to seize upon the whole riches of the Town, which at that time was very great. In the prosecution of this villainy, they wanted neither secresie, unanimity, nor craft. Not secresie, for till their designe was ripe, I had no knowledge of it; which argues also their unanimity. As for their craft, a man would have thought some minor Jesuite had been of their counsell. They had prepared, forsooth, a kind of Declaration, zeal to the safety of the Town, solicitousnesse to see it so naked, and unfit to oppose an Enemy, were the embroidered coat of this pretty brat; and to make up all, they added a resolution to stick to King and Parliament, and to use the whole fruits of their attempts to serve the Publick: and I, forsooth, had the honour to be nominated their chief Commander. I had at this time taken physick, but my Serjeant, Mr. *Beirom* the elder, having discovered the plot to some in the Town, who quickly came to advise with me. We with some few others, which we sent for, agreed upon this as the suddenest remedy, that the twelve chief conspirators, should be severally sent for into one roome, at one time, and afterwards severally examined, which accordingly was done; their examinations remaining still upon fyle in *Manchester*. Whilest these things were doing, I gave order for my 12 Muskettiers privately to attend me, with whose assistance having secured these heads, the conspiracie vanished into smoke, which otherwise would have set all on fire.

The plague being ceased, and the chief inhabitants of the Town returned, a man would have thought that this last Evidence of my faithfulnesse alone, should have wrought these men, if not to thankfulnesse, yet to honesty: But who can white a Blackmore? or make a rope of sand? Their brows were brasse to all intreaties, their affections flints to all reason, their hearts rocks to all pitie, and their consciences adamants to all obligations, even still my Annuity was kept from me; which aggravating my many debts and wants to the height of extremitie, in hope of relief, I repaired to London. Where prevailing not for a redresse, in three quarters of a yeers attendance, with my boy and two horses, at very great expences; at length (it being true that *Magister artis ingeniiq; largitor venter),* it came into my head, to print an angry Paper, the Copie whereof I have here inserted.

### *A sad Complaint of Lieutenant Collonel John Rosworme, against severall of the Inhabitants of Manchester.*

I POST and send abroad this to the deserved shame of the Townsmen of *Manchester*, whose names are under-written, whose heathenish, most unworthy and perfidious dealings, if I could, I would publish to the end of the world: my complaint is this, let all Readers judge, When the Town of *Manchester*, at the beginning of these Wars, was in a most desperate danger and extremitie by reason of the Enemie, I (who have been a known Souldier in Forrain parts) was then looked upon as a serviceable man for the safety and preservation of that Town, and was accordingly compounded with by those under-written in the towns behalf, to fortifie the said Town, and in a word, to mannage all Military affairs tending to their safety and preservation. In consideration of which, they obliged themselves, under hand and seal, to pay me quarterly, every quarter of a yeer 15.li. during the lives of my self or wife, which should live longest; adding with all such Solemn Protestations and Vowed Engagements of farther thankfulnesse, that, considering their profession of holinesse above other men, it might easily have wrought an hope in a credulous man, that they would be more than honest. But all that glistered was not gold; for see the issue. I discharged my Engagements to the utmost of a man, yea to the utmost of their hopes. Their Town was secured, themselves preserved, through Providence, my great pains, industry, and uncorrupted Faithfulnesse. In the prosecution of my trust, I incurred frequent and most manifest dangers of my life, from which my escape hath been a matter both of their wonder and their joy; of all which I have their own acknowledgements to produce, and testifications of their thankfulnesse so deep, as if they had looked upon me, as the onely earthly Landlord of their lives: All this, notwithstanding, these men (if they deserve so good a name) conceiving themselves to have no other use of me have for this 12. moneths with-held from me my dearly earned stipend, broken their covenants, slighted their engagements, opposed all fair motions, and frequent entreaties of my own, refused all ministeriall exhortations, earnestly and often pressing their dutie herein upon them; despised all requests and letters of publick and private eminent persons, not onely mending them of, but reproving them for their backwardnesse, I may say perfidiousnesse; so that, if I were not beholding to a more bountifull Providence, then what runs in their honesty, I and mine might rot, perish, starve, or famish, whom by their obligation, as well as the common obligations of Equitie, they are bound to relieve; what ingratitude this is, let the world judge; yea, judge yourselves, ye worst of men; did I hazard life, limbs, and all that was dear to me, and do the richest of you grudge me a few shillings by the yeer, to buy me and mine food: is this your equitie? have you ingaged your selves solemnly for my satisfaction, and now do you deny it me to my destruction; Is this your honesty? would you, indeed, murder me, my wife and children after the highest manner of cruelty, that under God have been a means of preserving you alive? What! is no other death fit for me but famishing? have you no easier way to show your unthenkfulnesse then that? are you so hard hearted to a stranger, so perfidious to your obligation, so unthankfull for curtesies, such obstinate enemies of reason and equitie? do you professe yourselves ashamed to see me, and can you read this without blushing; ye Adamants, can ye indeed be so flintie? Well, be so for ever, finde out the utmost bounds of ingratitude, be matchlesse in your treacherie; set the Devill himself a Copie, that you may be the most infamous men of your generation, and when you have done, triumph in this; That your Consciences are made of such steel, as can be touched with nothing. As for me, the utmost of your cruelty shall, I hope, reach no farther than to cause me to be angry with myself, that I have ever hazarded my blood for such despicable earth-worms: But withall, let me tell you, I hope I shall finde out a way to make you pay me against your wills, nor shall your dishonestie for ever help you.

To conclude (for I know though your brows be Basilsico-proof, yet you could be content I should end this language), if ever you stand in need of the faithfulnesse of a man again, may you meet with none that will trust you, better than you deserve, for since you have in my case, manifested your best profession to be but hellish dissimulations, what man after me, will ever credit you? who will ever free me from this reproach of being the last credulous fool that ever you shall abuse? If any thing here seem either to your selves or others too sharp, I shall shortly cleer your eyesight, and present you with a larger looking-glasse, wherein you shall see (if you will not shut your eyes) Circumstances enough, which will more fully discover your bruitishnesse not onely to your selves, but to all that will take the pains to observe your most detestable unworthinesse, so farewell.

The names of those unworthy Covenant-breakers in *Manchester*, who have sealed and subscribed the Covenant in behalf of themselves and the whole Town.

*Rich. Heyrick*
*Will. Radelyff*
*Rich. Haworth*
*Rouland Hunt*
*John Hartly*
*John Gaskell*
*Edw. Holbrook*
*Roger Worthington*
*Richard Meare*
*Henry Bradshawe*
*Thomas Ellingworth*
*Tho. Lancashire*
*Richard Lomax*
*Edward Johnson*
*Lawrence Owen*
*Robert Lewer*
*Nich. Hawet*
*Mich. Buxton*
*Rap. Wollen*
*Hugh H. Williams*
*William Dean*
*Thomas Mynshall*

*Lond. May* 9, 1648.

The shame of this Paper, which the bitternesse of my condition, and the unworthines of their dealing, forced me to Print, together with the concurrence of the *Scottish* advance, from which they feared danger, occasioned them to recall me from London, and to pay me my then Arrears.

But this storme being over, they again most shamelessly slighted their Engagements; and therefore being utterly worn out with the vexation of their usage, and finding nothing to work, I sent them a Letter dated *Octob.* 11, 1648, desiring their leave that I might seek imployment where I could, and look after a means of subsistence elsewhere, since their hearts were such, that they could suffer me, my wife, children, and family to perish before their eyes, who for six or seven yeers had been an evident Instrument of keeping them, their wives and children from the same end. For this purpose, I sent them inclosed the form of a testimony to be subscribed; the result of all was, I neither could get pay, nor testimoniall: what is this, but as much as to say in other words, For all the good service you have done us, we will keep you here, and famish you?

I have now done my story, what's behinde must be for Application. And first I shall begin with those undertakers of Manchester, who first engaged me; and first, and last, and all along, have almost equalled my services with their wrongs.

My Masters.

For it hath been my unhappinesse to have been your servant. Give me your leave a little.

(If you have any roome in your memories for any thing but debts) you may well remember the confusions, fears, and extremities, you were in, when you first desired my service; what a strong Enemy you expected from without, how divided within, how weakly provided, and unable against either; insomuch that my Engagement in your service, was as much the wonder of your Enemies, as the preservation of your selves so far as may be ascribed to a means. Having undertaken your service, you may remember, if you please, the dangers I exposed myself to, beyond my covenant, the offers which I refused from many, the difficulties I ran through, the vigilancy and care which I used, the faithfulnesse which I discharged, my sticking to your estates during the plague, when most of you (which was strange) forsook them yourselves; and the successe of all through my whole service. You may remember too, what me thinks you have forgotten, that I had your hands and seals for a poore annuity, besides the voluntary additionall promises from some of you of 10 li. from another, 20 li. from another, 30 li. from another, 40 li. yeerly as long as I lived, flowing from the sense of my care and faithfulnesse, once visible in *Manchester*, but now removed beyond the *Indies*. But, I pray you, my masters, suffer your servant to reason with you. Was I once thought worthy of so much? And now have I not deserved my poore wages of you? that have kept for some of you such vast estates? Do you still grudge me the yeerly proportion of a few shillings, that have kept for you so many pounds, so many thousands? Have I exposed myself for your safety, to the danger of sword, and plague, and will nothing content your boundlesse ingratitude, unlesse with-all you throw me and my whole family into the jaws of famine? You have been thought men of conscience, why could no ministeriall exhortations prevail with you, often propounded and urged upon you for that purpose? You have professed your selves the Parliaments devoted servants, why was their recommendation slighted? You would not be thought uncivill, why were my Lord Generals letters so little regarded? You would not be reported as shamelesse, why did shame force you to a piece of your duty, upon the sight of my printed Paper inserted before? whereas now again like the dogge, you are turned to your vomit. You complain of others for want of justice, why have you used so little to me? You pretend a great deal of care of your credit, why have you suffered your words, hands, and seals to be wounded? Religion bids you be courteous to strangers, why have you dealt thus unmercifully, yea most cruelly with me? who though a stranger, have been more then a brother, and have then stuck to you, when for fear you have fled from your selves. Equity, reason, yea self-love, requires you to be thankful for courtesies, having forgotten all these obligations, I favour you too much if I say you are out of your wits, for then you will be somewhat excused; whereas, if you will be thought otherwise, you cannot. When your fears had rendred you heartlesse, my undertaking your service, and lively encouragements revived you; when you have been compassed with your enemies, my service hath been your freedome; when you have slept, I have been watching for you; when you have stretched yourselves upon your soft beds, I have made the cold earth my lodging; when instead of cloaths to keep me warm, I have been wet round with the rain; I did not envy these things to you, I did not refuse these things for you. I might say much more, if I were not resolved to have this advantage of you to be able justly to say, I might have said more if I pleased.

But how have you dealt with me? When in my distresses I have made my moan to you for my dearly earned stipend, your ears were deaf, your hearts pitilesse, my wife and children could not find the way to your bosomes, though you and yours have not wanted large roome in mine. What was your meaning, were you ambitious to be the most notable men in all the earth for cruel unthankfulnesse? If so, I will do my best to procure you the honour, as far as my few languages will reach, you shall not fail; or was it because in your actions to me you would shew your selves honest men? You have done it indeed, ask your consciences else, and they will tell you so; because none else will. Or was it your purpose to force me to flie the Kingdom, and to leave my wife and children to your Parishes charitie, when both the husband of that wife, and the father of those children, could finde so little of your justice, equitie or honestie. Perhas 'twas this: but yet methinks having some subtiltie of apprehension, you might have thought, that he that was no traitor to your bowels, would not be a traitor to his own. Sure then your ayme was I should be driven to rob by the high-way, and violently to take from others what should be the support of my familie. And yet me thinks you could not think this, seeing that you well knew that I have ever been carefull of my honestie even to you, who have failed to me. How then should I be injurious to such, whom perhaps I have never seen, when I have not wronged you, that have so sore provoked me? You know I have ever laboured to keep others from plundering, how then should I practise it myself? But perhaps you are still of that judgement, however you use me, that certainly some miracles would be manifested from heaven, before a man that had served you so faithfully should want, though you should give me nothing. If these were your thoughts, then by your confession I must look for miracles, before you will be honest; and if that follow after, 'twill be the greatest miracle of all: if none of these are right guesses, for my part I am at a losse, help me out, and then you shal hear more; till then I leave you.

Having done with these, I shall keep that order in my debates, which I observe in my wrongs. *Manchester* was first, and the *Parliament* in its late state was next, to them must I be bold to say a little.

## To the Honorable House of Commons, sitting till the year 1648, and particular to the Members for *Lancashire*.

*Honorable Gentlemen:*

YOU neede not be put in minde, I hope, that whatsoever I did for *Manchester*, reacht at length to yourselves, and from you to the whole Kingdom. It hath been easie for many impartiall eyes to see, that my actions at *Manchester* in the beginning were the verie hinges, whereupon the War turned; for had not my Lord of *Darbies* Forces been boldly opposed, and at length utterly crushed, by the activity, boldnesse, and successe of those Forces, with which I alwayes personally served (where mentioning myself alone, I desire not to rob any other of their due honour) half an eye may see in humane reason, what condition you had been brought to, successe at first being that which both animated and encreased your friends.

I must not here forget, any point of right or honour which was shewed me, for I suppose that public testimony, which was given of my stirring, vigilancy, faithfulnesse and successe, begot me unexpectedly my Lord *Whartons* Commission to be Lieutenant Collonel to Coll. *Ashton.* Which command how I used, till I layed it down, I have touched before, and can confidently leave to any that knew my actions. But I beseech you forgive me, if as modestly as freedome forced from misery, will give me leave, I speak something also of yours.

Having laied down my Commission of Lieutenant Collonel, I degraded my self into a Captain, that I might be the fitter to discharge my trust to *Manchester*, and to attend your service there, where it was of most concernment. I was content to take 40s. *per* week in part of my Captains pay, and the rest upon the Publick Faith; and this with the poore addition of my *Manchester* annuitie, was the whole livelihood of my wife, children and family. But as *Manchester* suspended the one, so your selves at length suspended the other; upon which being deprived of all means of subsistence, I addressed two Petitions to your House, all which were worn out in some of your pockets, and myself at length after almost 12 months expectation, dismissed with this, That my Petition was but a private businesse, from a private man, and the Parliament would not looke upon it; but yet I must acknowledge, I was allowed from you a little money, not so much as would bear my charges of attendance.

Forgive me now a little freedome; when I did you service, I was a publick man; was I altered because I came in my great miseries to petition for my wages? especially having forborn you so long, that I ran in debt for the bread which I did eat, as still I do? Or if I were not that *Rosworme* which served you, as actively, faithfully, and successefully as any, must I, because private, perish for want of justice, when I hope you will grant I should not famish for want of pitie? Private men that were to pay money, I hope were looked after; why not private men, that were to receive? If the receiving were a publick advantage, surely paying was a publick duty. But did no private men find a redresse from you, for almost 12 months? Nay, did no private men in this time receive extraordinarie gratuities, which I also was one recommended for, though as yet I want my pay? You can tell. Had you not one half houres time to consider my deep extremities, able, if I and they were well known, to move a stone? What? not so little time for me, that have spent dayes, nights, months, yeers so many, so much time, to support that power and wealth by which you were to relieve me? I have observed a Motto about your *English* Coynes, *Justitia firmat thronum;* the want of this is the mother of all the changes and revolutions in the world; the corruption of this unsetled the Kingdome at first; the corruption of this pull'd down yourselves; and the corruption of this, if not seasonably looked into, will ruine all. Were they not your solemn professions at your first sitting, that having felt the weight of oppression and injustice from others, the bent of your counsels and actions should be, that Justice might be impartially done to all? Did you not with professions to this purpose, fish for hearts, and catch thousands? and could you so easily neglect the doing of justice to one of your faithfull servants, especially when it would have gotten you the additionall honour of another vertue, *viz.* shewing of pitie? But you were busied about the Publick. Be it so; yet me thinks, you could not but see, what I heard a mean man once observe, that the administration of private justice is a publick good; how else could that be true, that *Justitia firmat thronum?* But I was a stranger? I pray you how many of your own Nation betrayed you, whilest I stood firm? How many of them would have betrayed you, when they could not; whereas I would not, when I could, though I had strong temptations? How few did you better service moving in no higher a sphear? How manie forsook you upon easie trials, when I stuck to you against all? If it be a granted principle that I must be slighted, because a stranger, yet sure I should have been regarded, because a good servant: what could you imagine I should do? I had spent, sold, and pawned, all that I had, except what I onely mean to part with, when I part with life. I was, and am still, as deeply plunged into debt, as my friends would give me leave. I had a wife and children, which though you would not look after, yet I could not so easily forget, how did you think I should subsist? How should these be fed? I had no skill to trade, no art to begge, no heart to rob; did you ayme that my miserable necessities should force me that which my soul loaths? Did I hate in my heart, forbear in my practise, restrain in my Souldiers all kinde of plundering, even then when we had taken Towns, and might have done it under the colour of war, all which tended not a little to your honour, that you had such a servant. And could that be thought good dealing, to necessitate me, for want of my deserved pay, to raise provision for my deare wife and children, by my violence to others. But you knew not my wants; one of your number, who, it is to be supposed, knew your mind, said I was a private man, and you would not look upon my Petition, as much as to say, you would not know them. Besides, when one had done good Service to a State long since, you know that a voluntary inquirie was made; what honour had been done to the man for all this? And indeed what honour? yea, what justice? yea, what injustice, rather? For, alas, how can I say lesse, under the sense of such a languishing condition; the very grief whereof, being beyond the anguish of all my wounds, hath lately thrown me into an extreme sicknesse, and that to the edge of my grave. I shall much wonder, if now at length, upon the view of your failings, I should not see my redresse, and know my helpers, which accordingly succeeding, I shall not fail to give the world as thankfull a testimony as in this I have given true.

*John Rosworme.*

*** As the errors of press copied in this reimpression from the original edition are more glaring than in the other Tracts—as for instance Basil*si*co, bru*i*tishnesse, Rad*e*lyff, &c. in pp. 236-7,—it is proper to notice that this is a *literal* reprint. The *errors* which relate to *dates of events* are marked in the notes.

## Documents illustrative of Roseworm's Statements as to the non-payment of his Salary, &c. by Manchester.

### No. I.—*First Order in favour of Roseworm by the House of Commons.*

"Die Mercurii, Septembris 4, 1644.

"Ordered, that Lieutenant Colonel *Roseworme* shall have his pay as Lieutenant Colonel, so long as he did the duty of that place in the Regiment of Colonel Asheton. And that the forty shillings *per* week formerly paid to him as Captain, and all the arrears of it, be forthwith paid out of the public monies to be raised in the County of *Lancaster ;* and so to continue during such time as he shall be in the publick service in that County: and for the rest of his pay as Captain, the said Lieutenant Col. *Roseworme* shall have the *Publick* Faith. And it is further recommended unto the Town of *Manchester* not to fail in the paying of him the Sixty Pounds *per Annum*, according to their former Covenants with him."—*Journals of the House of Commons*, 1644, p. 617.

### No. II.

*July* 7, 1649.—A letter from President Bradshaw to "the Town of Manchester and particularly for those who contracted with Lieut. Col. Roseworm," recommending, in the name and by order of the Councell of State, speedy payment to the bearer, "by birth a stranger, and unable to present his complaints in the ordinary legall forme," as entitled by thorough performance to the discharge of what is due to him by contract and promise, with good cause for an addition thereto, but none for backwardness in withholding payment.—Printed in Hibbert's *History of the Collegiate Church*, i. 394, from a letter in Barrett's *Collections*, with some remarks on the hostility shown to Rosworm, as arising from his refusal to take the Covenant.

## XLI.

### No. III.—*To the Supreme Authority of the Common Wealth of England, assembled in Parliament.*[1]

The Case of Lieut. Coll. *Rosworme.*

1. In the infancy of the late Troubles, he approved himself cordiall and faithfull to the Parliament, and did them eminent service in defending the Town of *Manchester* against the Earl of *Darby* and the King's forces, which he successfully performed, to the wonder both of friends and foes.

2. He prosecuted that success to the utter subduing of the Enemy in all that County.

3. In all the passages of his service he cannot be touched in the least degree with freequarter, plunder, or any one act of unfaithfulness or injustice.

4. He hath refused great offers of money and preferments from the Enemy, and resolutely opposed all wayes used to corrupt his fidelity.

5. He hath upon all occasions readily performed all requests and commands, tending of the advancement of the publicque service and safety.

6. The Town of *Manchester* for his remarkable and faithfull Service did settle upon him an annuity of 60 li. per annum for his and his wife's life, which was payd the two first years, but since that time they have neglected payment thereof, and now lastly for these two years together, wherein he hath not received one penny, notwithstanding the recommendation of the House in an Order dated Sept. 4, 1644, and the speciall request of the Councell of State, in a letter dated July 7, 1649, nor can he recover it at law, not being a free denizen.

This business hath been examined by a Committee of the Councell of State and found true, and they further find that the sum of 776 li. and 15s. is undue to him for his arrears, of which the Councell of State to supply his necessities have paid him 30 li.

He hath attended above two years for relief, which hath cost him above two hundred pound, which he hath taken up on Credit, and is brought to so low a condition that he, his wife and children, had perished, if they had not been relieved by strangers, which he takes the more to heart, that he upon many grounds observeth, that his relief is retarded and obstructed by the malicious underminings of some masked enemies of the common wealth, whose treachery he hath most clearly manifested in a little narrative printed in August 1649, whom, if they dare to appear with an accusation, he desireth to answer.

There hath been a Report on his behalf from the Councell of State, ever since 1 Decemb. 1649, for his Relief.

His humble suit is that you will further the speedie reporting of the business, and his Relief as you shall find just. July 1651.

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[1] From a broadside, Br. Mus. with date in MS., as in other King's Tracts.

## No. IV.—*Extracts from an old Book of Accounts of the Town of Manchester, in custody of the Boroughreeve.*

[Communicated to the Editor by Mr. Palmer.]

William Jackson, Richard Meare, Michael Buxton, and Henrie Dickenson, Constables of Manchester, from 14th Nov. 1644, to the last of Feb. 1645 (1645-6.)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1644.<br>*s. d.* | Pd. Mr. Roseworme, 21st December 1644 | 10 | 00 | 00 |
| Jan. 25, 1644-5. | Pd. Mr. Gaskell, 1644, for money sent unto Mr. Roseworme | 05 | 00 | 00 |
| March 4, | Paid Mr. Wrigley in full of a lay charged on our constables, being our proporcon. of 3000 lbs. upon ye countie for ye souldiers which lay before Lathom | 38 | 12 | 07 |
| „ 11 | Pd. Mr. Roseworme | 10 | 00 | 00 |

The following items occur:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 9 Gall. beer | 00 | 12 | 00 |
| 8 Horses 1 night | 01 | 00 | 00 |
| 207 lb. cheese | 02 | 07 | 00 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| April 8 | (1645)<br>Pd. Mr. Gaskell which was sent Mr. Roseworme | 05 | 00 | 00 |
| | Pd. Piersevall, for work done at the gates at Market Steed lane end | 00 | 09 | 06 |
| | Pd. Matthew Symcocks, appointed receiver at Lathom | 29 | 00 | 00 |
| June 10 | Pd. Mr. Roseworme for quartridge | 15 | 00 | 00 |
| | Pd. Mr. Roseworme his Lieutenant | 25 | 00 | 00 |
| | Pd. Mr. Roseworme his drummer | 12 | 00 | 00 |
| Sept. 18 | Pd. Mr. Roseworme for work done about the ordenance and the mount | 02 | 16 | 08 |
| 26 | Pd. Mr. Roseworme | 15 | 00 | 00 |
| Dec. 6 | Pd. Mr. Roseworme | 15 | 00 | 00 |
| 19 | Pd. Mr. Studdert, appointed collector for the Irish lay for a twelve month | 18 | 14 | 00 |
| | Pd. Capt. Binch, appointed collector for ye Northerne association | 45 | 07 | 01 |
| | Pd. Capt. Booth, collector for the Scotts lay | 12 | 10 | 10 |
| 1645-6, Feb.— | Pd. in the time of the visitation,[1] for which we have given accompt to the Justices | 918 | 00 | 00 |
| | Total amount of payments | 1506 | 04 | 04 |
| | Total amount of Receipts, including £918 00 00 received from the County in the time of the visitation | 1470 | 03 | 10 |
| | Balance | 36 | 00 | 06 |

[1] The visitation (I apprehend) was the sickness or plague with which the town was at that time visited.—J. Palmer.

Perused and allowed the amounts above, 29th October 1646,
by us,
John Lancashire,
Edward Johnson,
John Gaskell,
Rowland Mosley,
John Marler.

7 Oct. 1646.—James Lightbowne, Robert Hill, Robert Cocker, and Samuel Hamer, Cunstables of Manchester.

*Extracts from the Receipts.*

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ,, | Rec$^{d}$. of his fellowe Cunstable Mr. Nichollas Hawet, towards Mr. Roseworme's q$^{d}$ridge, due 6 Sept. last | 09 | 19 | 6 |
| 20 | Rec$^{d}$. of Mrs. Griffin, which was left in her late husband's hands for Townes use, towards Mr. Roseworme | 10 | 04 | 6 |
| Dec. 11. | Rec$^{d}$. of Mr. John Hartley, which was remaining in his hands of Monies due to y$^{e}$ Towne towards paying Mr. Rosew. | 05 | 08 | 4 |

*Extracts from Payments beginning*

Octob. 8, 1646.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 20 | Paid Mr. Roseworme till y$^{e}$ 6th day of Decemb. next | 15 | 00 | 00 |
| Dec. 11 | Pd. Mr. Roseworme | 15 | 00 | 00 |
| Mar. 6 (1646-7) | Pd. Mr. Roseworme | 15 | 00 | 00 |
| July 6 | Pd. Mr. Roseworme | 15 | 00 | 00 |
| | The Balance at the end of the Year was | 3 | 01 | 9 |

The Accounts were passed October 28, 1647.

Another account book of Roger Nield and John Roberts (constables, 1647-8) does not give any further information on this subject; and no book occurred, on examination of these documents, between the last-named period and October 1655. —Information of Mr. Palmer.

# Chapter XII.

ENGAGEMENT OR DECLARATION OF THE LANCASHIRE REGIMENTS, PREVIOUS TO HAMILTON'S IRRUPTION—MARCH OF THE SCOTCH FORCES, ETC. SOUTHWARDS, THROUGH NORTH LANCASHIRE, LEAVING LANCASTER BESIEGED BY TYLDESLEY—BATTLE OF PRESTON, AND ROUT OF HAMILTON—FLIGHT OF LANGDALE AND THE OTHER ROYALIST LEADERS SOUTHWARDS—MOVEMENTS OF MONRO AND TYLDESLEY NORTHWARDS—SURRENDER OF APPLEBY CASTLE AND THE LANCASHIRE ROYALISTS TO COL. ASHTON—DISBANDING OF THE LANCASHIRE MILITIA—SUBSEQUENT DISTRESS AND PESTILENCE IN THE COUNTY.

MAY 1648—MAY 1649.

## XLII.

*The Engagement or Declaration of the Officers and Souldiers of the County Palatine of Lancaster. Together with their Letter to the Reverend Ministers of the several Hundreds of that County, desiring them to publish the said Declaration in their Parish Churches, as also the present state and condition of that County, certified in a Letter to a well-affected Citizen in London.* Printed May 19, 1648.

Sir,

I have inclosed sent you a copy of the declaration of our Souldiers; how far it is owned you may discern; at the next generall meeting it is expected to be signed by all. We are gathering into a body for our own defence; and if the news which came last night be true, the enemy is marched into our County with a body of Horse. Our Souldiery apprehend themselves in great straights; for if the army come down, and they joyn with them to suppresse the Cavaliers, they fear and are very jealous that the army will afterwards fall upon them and suppresse them. I cannot tell, but it is conceived by many well affected to the cause we first engaged in, that if the Parliament do not new-modell the army, and displace such as are generally odious to the Kingdom, there will scarce ever be an happy peace and settlement in the nation. For should the Presbyterian party and the sectaries joyn to suppresse the common enemy, it is (I say) very much to be feared they would afterwards clash one with another: for when those that adhere to the Covenant are put into a posture of defence, they will never (I am confident) lay down arms to become tame slaves to the Sectaries, who for all their specious pretences and flattering proposals, have not hitherto really acted one thing whereby our distractions may be removed, and truth and peace, which is the desire of all good men, may be perfectly accomplished. We are here wonderfully inquisitive after your affairs in the City: we say here, that if you act vigorously and improve all fair means and opportunities, as every day God now begins to put into your hands, you will give life to the whole kingdom. I beseech you in your next acquaint us what is done in altering your Militia, whether the City have the Tower in their possession. If you be not more active then some represent you in their letters, we fear that you are onely doing what will serve to justifie your enemies in destroying of you: but I hope better things, which is the daily prayer of

Your most faithfull and most affectionate
Friend to serve you.

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Gentlemen,

The too frequent declension of many that pretend to religion from their first principles, the misunderstanding and diverse interpretations of our solemn League and Covenant, as it may suit to private interests, and the general apostasy of the age we live in, together with the grievous aspersions under which we suffer, hath informed us to present you with this inclosed Declaration, wherein we know well the weakness of our Language, and the miscarriages that may be in the stile. But we intreat you to take well the integrity of our intentions in conscience of our duty; and much desire if you think fit to publish it in your congregations, to the satisfaction of all to whom it may come, of our fidelity, and we shall remaine,

Your very affectionate friends and servants,

Nich. Shuttleworth
Hugh Bradshaw
Ughtred Shuttleworth
James Chantrell
Richard Radclyffe
John Ashurst
Henry Porter
George Key
W. West
J. Butterworth
Alex. Tompson
Samuell Birch
William Emott
William Waller
William Gardner
Thomas Westmor
George Cranage

*Bolton*, May 9, 1648.

For the Reverend the Ministers in the severall Hundreds of the County Palatine of Lancaster.

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## The declaration of the Officers and Souldiers of the County Palatine of Lancaster.

Whereas, we lately the Officers and Souldiers of the County Palatine of Lancaster, having to our best knowledge behaved ourselves as becomes loyal subjects and faithfull souldiers and servants of God, King, and Kingdom, are on the one hand aspersed as Malignants and Enemies to the state, and fit to be disarmed; and on the other hand, as Rebels and Enemies to Monarchy, and the Kings Majestie that now is: Wee therefore thought it requisite to declare and expresse to the Deputy Lieutenants and Committee of this County, that we own the solemn League and Covenant of the three Kingdoms in every branch of it, and will not by any combination, perswasion, or terror, be drawn from it. And more particularly in reference to the said aspersions, we do further expresse, that we stand for the fundamental Government of the Kingdom, by King, Lords, and Commons, according to the laws of the land, and the declarations of this present Parliament, before our first engagement: that we love, desire, and should much rejoyce in the regal and regular Government of his Majestie that now is. As for Papists, Popish Persons, malignant abettors of former innovations, usurpations or oppressions, or any other disaffected persons which were or shall be in arms to disturb Religion, Righteousnesse and Peace, we from the bottom of our hearts do detest them, and with our lives and fortunes will endeavour to oppose them. And we in like manner do declare against Toleration of Heresie, Schism, Prophanenesse, and whatsoever is contrary to sound Doctrine and the power of Godlinesse so plainly covenanted and declared against by the Ministers and others of this and other Counties: Nor will we, nor (as we verily believe) the Souldiers of the County, be commanded by any Gentleman whatsoever of this County, or other Officers which are justly aspersed to decline from these honest and just principles, and to favour anarchy in Church or State; but will desire according to the General Petition of the County, for the putting of all such persons from Places and Offices of trust, knowing of our own knowledge that the Kingdoms Cause hath been and yet is much disadvantaged by the preferment of such persons, and our party weakned, yea and deserted by many, which would not have deserted it otherwise. Our humble request therefore is to the Deputy Lieutenants and Committee of this County, which desire our engagement in this present Service, that they would receive in good part this our plain and honest Declaration.

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*The Arrangement of the Militia of Lancashire, in the expectation of Hamilton's Irruption into the County, is stated as follows.*

Rushworth, part iv, vol. ii. 1123.—From Lancaster, May 19, 1648.

Mention of warrants being issued for raising the forces of the county of Lancaster, and of a meeting at Preston agreeing that the forces of the county, south of Garstang, should march to Lancaster, on the entreaty of the Lonsdale forces now at Lancaster. "The forces of Amounderness Hundred, both horse and foot are under the command of Lt.-Col. Alexander Rigby, and joined with the forces of Lonsdale to give a stop to the enemy."

Additions about the same time were made to the Lieutenancy, including the names of John Anderton of Anderton, Esq., and Peter Bold of Bold, Esq.

Ibid. p. 1148.—(June 12, 1648.)

"The Committee of Lancashire have ordered four colonels of foot and two of horse, with their regiments, now in readiness in the northern part of this county, forthwith to join with Major-General Lambert's forces in Yorkshire against the enemy in Westmoreland and Cumberland. Colonel Ashton is Commander-in-chief, and under him Lt.-Col. Rigby commandeth one regiment of horse, and Colonel Nicholas Shuttleworth the other. The colonels are Col. Dodding, Col. Standish, who commandeth his own and Lt.-Col. Rigby's foot, Col. Ashton, and Col. Oughtred Shuttleworth."

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## XLIII.

*The Copy of a Letter from Duke Hamilton to the Ministers at Lancaster, with their Answer to the same. Published by Authority.*
London, printed for *Edward Husband*, Printer to the H. H. of C.
*August* 25, 1648.

For such Ministers of this Shire as are now at Lancaster, and have lately forsaken their own Dwellings.

*Reverend Gentlemen,*

Being informed that divers of the Ministry of Lancashire, upon the causless apprehension of receiving injury from this Army, have lately forsaken their Charge and Benefices, and are now at Lancaster, to the inconveniences of themselves and Parishioners, for the which I am grieved; and that they should so far mistake our intentions in coming hither, it being for settling Presbyterian government according to the Covenant, liberating and reestablishing his Majesty, and for other ends conducing to the good and peace of the Kingdom, according to the Declaration herewith sent, and not to harm any, (much less) the Ministers of this Countrey;

I therefore thought good to certifie that such as have so absented themselves, may freely and without fear return to their several Dwellings, to exercise those duties belonging to their Callings, without any Prejudice to their Persons, Families, or Goods, from any in this Army; and if any of them be pleased to repair unto me, I doubt not but to give them that satisfaction that they may clearly see, none shall study more the happiness and preservation of this Church according to the *Covenant*, then

Your assured good friend to serve you,
HAMILTON.

*Hornby*, 10 *August* 1648.

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*May it please your Excellency,*

We acknowledge ourselves but weak men, and therefore subject to mistakes, but are not satisfied of any in having our present abode at Lancaster, it being incredible to us how we should have safety and freedom with your army, knowing our old Enemies of Religion, and the Kingdom's peace, are with your Excellency. We have all taken the Covenant, and are zealous for reestablishing his Majesty, and doubt not the reality of the intentions of the two Houses of Parliament, according to their late declarations, nor yet of the settling *Presbyterian Government*, whereof we have lately had good assurance in this County, and how much we shall own it (unto the death) is known to all the world in our late "*Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ*," subscribed by us, together with the rest of our brethren of this *Province*, unto which Truth we pray nothing may be acted prejudicially by your excellency, and rest,

Your humble Servants,

| | |
|---|---|
| Tho. Whithead | Edw. Aston |
| James Schoulcroft | Tho. Denny |
| Jo. Jaques | Jo. Smith |
| Pet. Atkinson | Sam. Elwood |
| Jo. Syll | Tho. Faucet |

*Lancaster*, 10 August 1648.

## XLIV.

*The last Newes from the Prince of Wales, declaring his further proceedings against the Parliament's Forces, &c.* London, printed Anno Dom. 1648. (MS. date Aug. 21.)[1]

### The last News from the two armies of England and Scotland, communicating the near engagement of both Armies, and the Resolution and Proceedings of the Scots.

To their honoured friends the Committee of the County of Lancaster, now at Manchester, these:

*Gentlemen,*

In ours to Sir *Richard Hoghton* we gave you a short character of the Scots Army, now quartered all along the borders of our County, both on the Lancashire and Westmoreland side. Truly what we said of them yesterday was but expressing their delineaments of Hercules by the foot. We spare to speak the worst of them, least we should forfeit that credence which you have towards us, and not be believed, but assure yourselves; they by their daily incursions into our poor country, between this and their quarters, have left nothing in all the world that is portable.

In divers places some whole families have not left them wherewith to subsist a day, but are glad to come hither for meer subsistance. They have taken forth of divers families all, the very racken crocks and pot hooks; they have driven away all the beasts, sheep, and horses, in divers townships, all, without redemption, save some poor milch kine. They tell the people they must have their houses too, and we verily believe it must be so, because Duke Hamilton hath told them it should be so. Their usage of some women is extreamly abominable, and of men very barberous, wherein we apprehend nevertheless something of God's Justice towards very many, who have abundantly desired and rejoyced at their advance hither: old extream cavaliers, whom they have most oppressed in their acts of violence and plunder, to our great admiration.

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[1] The four first pages of this Tract do *not* relate to Lancashire.

They raile without measure at our Ministers, and threaten the destruction of so many as they can get. Many Cavaliers have sent into Furness and Cartmel to Sir Thomas Tilsley for protections,[1] but the Scots weigh not their protections a rush, and Tilsley himself tells the Cavaliers he can do them no good, but wishes them to use their best shifts in putting their goods out of the way. They say they'll not leave the country worth any thing; they make no account of *Lambert,* they say he is run away. They are yet in quarters at Burton, Kirby, Whittington, &c. and the English at Encross and Furness. They have driven away above 600 cattle and 1500 sheep. They have given such earnest of their conditions that the Country have wholly driven away their cattel of all sorts towards Yorkshire and the bottom of Lancashire; forty great droves at least are gone from us, and through this Towne this day. But we hope this sad distraction will shortly clear up by the timely conjunction of our forces, and by the cheerful rising of our Countrie, whereof we are assured they never stood in half so much need for all the sufferings they have endured. We pray you let us know the businesse of the North, and we shall give you an account of what we daily learn, concerning the enemies motion or design, wherein we shall desire to be

Your most assured and ready friends to serve you,
*Lan.* 17 *Aug.* Hen. Porter,
1648. W. West.

## XLV.

*Lieutenant General Cromwel's Letter concerning the Total Routing of the Scots Army, the taking of Four Thousand Arms, and almost all*

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[1] Dr. Whitaker (*Hist. of Whalley*, p. 239) gives one of Sir Thomas Tyldesley's protections to E. Parker of Browsholme, Esq. dated Aug. 8, 1648; and accompanies it by another granted by Richard Shuttleworth of Gawthorp (Parliamentarian) to the same gentleman, dated Feb. 13, 1644.

*their Ammunition. With Another Letter written from Manchester to Sir Ralph Ashton, a member of the Honourable House of Commons concerning the said Victory.*

*Ordered by the Commons assembled in Parliament that these Letters be forthwith printed and published.* H. Elsynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

*London,* printed for *Edward Husband,* Printer to the Honorable House of Commons, *August* 22, 1648.

To the Right Worshipful and his most approved kinde friend, Sir *Ralph Ashton,* Baronet, a Member of the House of Commons.

Sir,

I have sent here enclosed a Copy of a Letter written by Lieutenant General *Cromwell* from Preston to the Committee sitting at Manchester, whereby you may perceive what salvation God hath wrought for this poor County, which, not above a week ago in the judgment of many, nay of most men, was given up for lost, but God hath made man's extremity to be his opportunity, in saving a people designed by cruel men to ruine and destruction. I shall say no more of it, because I suppose you will have full and ample intelligence from other hands, only I wish we may not be too much elevated by successes, or too much dejected and cast down in a low estate, but that we may so improve both mercies and judgements, that now, at last, through the various changes and chances that have hapned, such use may be made of all Dispensations and Providences of God, that the Church of England may flourish in Doctrine and Discipline, and all interests may enjoy their just and undoubted Rights in reference to the common good of the Nation, which shall be the constant prayer of him who desires to subscribe himself,

Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

W. L.

*Manchester,* this 19
of *August* 1648.

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Gentlemen,

It hath pleased God this day to show his greate power by making the army successeful against the common Enemy. We lay the last night at Mr. *Sherburn's* of *Stonihurst*, nine miles from *Preston*, which was within three miles of the Scots quarters. We advanced betimes next morning towards *Preston*, with a desire to engage the Enemy, and by that time our forlorn had ingaged the Enemy, we were about four miles from *Preston*, and thereupon we advanced with the whole army; and the Enemy being drawne out upon a Moore betwixt us and the Town, the Armies on both sides ingaged, and after a very sharpe dispute, continuinge for three or foure houres, it pleased God to enable us to give them a Defeat, which I hope we shall improve by God's assistance to their utter ruine; and in this service your countrymen have not the least share. We cannot bee particular, having not time to take accompt of the slain and prisoners, but we can assure you we have many prisoners, and many of those of quality, and many slain, and the Army so dissipated.

The principal part whereof, with *Duke Hambleton*, is on south side *Ribble* and *Darwain Bridge*, and we lying with the greatest part of the Army close to them, nothing hindring the ruine of that part of the enemies army but the night: it will be our care that they shall not pass over any ford beneath the Bridge to goe northward, or to come betwixt us and *Whalley*.

We understand Col. General *Ashton's* are at Whalley; we have seven troops of Horse and dragoons that we believe lie at or near Clithero. This night I have sent order to them expressly to march to Whalley, to joyne to those companies, that so we may endeavour the ruine of this enemie. You perceive by this letter how things stand; by this means the enemy is broken, and most of their horses being gone Northwards, and we having sent a considerable party at the very heele of them, and the enemy having lost almost all his ammunition, and neare four thousand armes, so that the greatest part of the Foot are naked: and therefore in order to perfecting this worke, we desire you to raise your County, and to improve your forces to the totall ruine of that enemy, which way soever they go: and that you shall accordingly doe your part, doubt not of their totall ruine.

We thought fit to speed this to you, to the end you may not be troubled if they shall march towards you, but improve your interest as aforesaid, that you may give glory to God for this unspeakable Mercy. This is all at present from your very humble Servant,

17 *Aug.* 1648. OLIVER CROMWELL.

For the Honorable Committee of *Lancashire* sitting at *Manchester.*
I desire the Commander of those Forces to open this letter if it come not to their hands.

⁂ There are several editions of this letter, all varying more or less in minute points, but all agreeing in matter. One has an anonymous letter attached to it, detailing the further progress of Cromwell's arms. Another (No. 5, 384, King's Tracts) has the signature of Ralph Ashton (of Middleton, Colonel-General and Commander in Chief of the Lancashire Regiments, see p. 252) following that of Cromwell.

## XLVI.

*Lt. General Cromwell's Letter to the Honourable William Lenthall, Esq. Speaker of the Honourable House of Commons, of the several great Victories obtained against the Scots and Sir Marmaduke Langdale's Forces in the North; where were slain of the Scots party above two thousand, above nine thousand taken prisoners, four or five thousand arms taken, the whole Infantry ruined, Duke Hamilton fled into Wales, and Langdale northward, Major General Vandrusk, Col. Hurry and Col. Ennis taken Prisoners, who formerly served the Parliament.*

*Ordered* by the Commons assembled in Parliament that this letter be forthwith printed and published. *H. Elsynge,* Cler. Parl. D. Com.

*London,* printed for *Edward Husband,* Printer to the Honourable House of Commons, *Aug.* 23, 1648.[1]

To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esq. Speaker of the House of *Commons.*

Sir,

I have sent up this Gentleman to give you an account of the great and good hand of God towards you in the late Victory obtained against the enemy in these parts.

After the conjunction of that party which I brought with me out of Wales, with the northern forces about Knaresborough and Weatherby, hearing that the Enemy was advanced with their army into Lancashire, we marched the next day, being the 13th of this Instant August, to Oatley (having cast off our train and sent it to Knaresborough, because of the difficulty of the marching therewith through Craven; and to th' end we might with more expedition attend the Enemies motion, and from the 14 to Skipton, the 15 to Gisborn, the 16 to Hodder Bridge over Ribble, where we had a council of war, at which we had in consideration whether we should march to Whalley that night, and so on to interpose between the enemy and his further progress into Lancashire, and so southward, which we had some advertisement the enemy intended, and since confirmed that they intended for London itself; or whether to march immediately over the said Bridge, there being no other betwixt that and Preston, and engage the enemy there, who we did believe would stand his ground, because we had information that the Irish forces under *Monro* lately come out of Ireland, which consisted of twelve hundred Horse and fifteen hundred foot, were on their march towards Lancashire to joyn with them. It was thought that to ingage the enemy to fight was our business, and the reason aforesaid giving us hopes that our marching on the north side of Ribble would effect it, it was resolved we should march over the Bridge, which accordingly we did, and that night quartered the whole army in the field by Stonihurst Hall, being Mr. *Sherburns* house, a place nine miles distant from Preston. Very early the next morning we marched towards Preston, having intelligence that the Enemy was drawing together thereabouts from all his out quarters, we drew out a forlorn of about Two hundred Horse and Four hundred Foot, the Horse commanded by Major *Smithson*, the foot by Major *Pounel*. Our forlorn of Horse marched within a mile where the Enemy was drawn up in the inclosed grounds by Preston, on that side next us; and there upon a moor, about half a mile distant from the enemies army, met with their scouts and outguard, and did behave themselves with that valour and courage as made their Guards (which consisted both of horse and foot) to quit their ground, and took divers prisoners, holding this dispute with them until our forlorn of foot came up for their justification, and by those we had opportunity to bring up our whole Army.

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[1] An *abstract* of this very characteristic letter is given by Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1237, and reprinted in Baines' *Lancashire*, but merely contains the military details, and among other passages omits the very interesting one respecting Col. Thornhaugh, and the remarkable recommendation in the conclusion to destroy those out of the land that would not cease troubling it.

So soon as our foot and horse were come up, we resolved that night to ingage them if we could; and therefore advancing with our forlorn, and putting the rest of our army into as good a posture as the ground would bear, (which was totally inconvenient for our horse, being all inclosure and miery ground) we pressed upon them.

The Regiments of foot were ordered as followeth. There being a lane very deep and ill, up to the enemies army, and leading to the town, we commanded two Regiments of horse, the first whereof was Col. *Harrisons* and next was my own, to charge up that lane, and on either side of them advanced the Battel, which were Lieut. Col. *Reads*, Col. *Deans* and Col. *Prides* on the right, Col. *Brights* and my Lord Generals on the left, and Col. *Ashton* with the Lancashire Regiments in reserve. We ordered Col. *Thornhaugh* and

Col. *Twisletons* Regiments of Horse on the right, and one regiment in reserve for the lane, and the remaining horse on the left; so that at last we came to a Hedge Dispute, the greatest of the impression from the enemy being upon our left Wing, and upon the battel on both sides the lane, and upon our horse in the lane, in all which places the enemy was forced from their ground after 4 hours dispute, until we came to the town, into which four troops of my regiment first entred, and being well seconded by Col. *Harrison's* Regiment, charged the enemy in the Town, and cleared the streets.

There came no hands of your foot to fight that day, but did it with incredible Valour and Resolution, amongst which Col. *Bright's*, my Lords General's, Lieut. Col. *Reads* and Col. *Ashtons* had the greatest work, they often coming to push of pike and to close firing, and always making the enemy to recoyl; and indeed I must needs say, God was as much seen in the valour of the Officers and Soldiers of these before-mentioned, as in any Action that hath been performed: the enemy making (though he was still worsted) very stiff and sturdy resistance.[1] Col. *Deans* and Col. *Prides* outwinging the enemy, could not come to so much share of the action; the enemy shaging down towards the Bridge, and keeping almost all in reserve, that so he might bring fresh hands often to fight, which we not knowing, but least we should be outwinged, placed those two regiments to inlarge our Right Wing, which was the cause they had not at that time so great a share in that Action; at the last the Enemy was put into disorder, many men slain, many prisoners taken, the Duke with most of the Scots Horse and Foot retreated over the Bridge, where after a very hot dispute betwixt the Lancashire Regiments, part of my Lord Generals and them being at push of pike, they were beaten from the Bridge, and our horse and foot following them, killed many, and took divers prisoners, and we possessed the bridge over *Darwent* and a few houses there, the Enemy being driven up within musquet shot of us where we lay that night, we not being able to attempt further upon the Enemy, the night preventing us.[1]

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[1] The following account of the charge of part of *Col. Ashton's Lancashire Regiment*, is given in Capt. Hodgson's Narrative, printed in *Original Memoirs of the Great Civil War*, published by Sir W. Scott, 1806, p. 118:

"I met *Major-General Lambert*,—and coming to him I *told him where his danger lay*, on his left wing chiefly. He ordered me to fetch up *the Lancashire Regiment*, and God brought me off, both horse and myself. The bullets flew freely; then was the heat of the battle that day.

"I came down to the muir, where I met with Major Jackson, that belonged to Ashton's regiment, and about three hundred men were come up; and I ordered him to march, but he said he would not, till his men were come up. A serjeant belonging to them asked me where they should march. I shewed him the party he was to fight, and he like a true-bred Englishman marched, and I caused the souldiers to follow him, which presently fell upon the enemy, and losing that wing, the whole army gave ground and fled.——

"The Lancashire men were as stout men as were in the world, and as brave firemen. I have often told them they were as good fighters, and as great plunderers, as ever went to a field."

In this posture did the enemy and we lie the most part of that night; upon entring the town, many of the enemy's horse fled towards Lancaster, in the chase of whom went divers of our horse, who pursued them near ten miles, and had execution of them, and took about five hundred Horse and many Prisoners.

We possessed in this fight very much of the enemy's Ammunition; I believe they lost four or five thousand Arms. The number of the slain we judge to be about a thousand, the prisoners we took were about four thousand.

In the night the Duke was drawing off his army towards Wiggon, wee were so wearied with the dispute that we did not so well attend the enemies going off as might have been, by means whereof the enemy was gotten at least 3 miles with his rear, before ours got to them.

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[1] Col. Bright's regiment, Col. Pride's, and Col. Deane's, kept the field; *the Lancashire regiments* and my *Lord General Cromwell's regiment of foot* pursued towards Ribbald Bridge, with most of our horse, where the Scots had six regiments of horse and foot, that had been in no service, besides their great army, with the waggons, near Walton Hall, drawn up in readiness.

"There was a long dispute before the *Bridge* was gained, and our horse and foot having routed that party above Walton Hall, they came to their main body, and a matter of six or eight horsemen, commanded by Captain Pockley, kept a gapstead of their whole army, while some of our troopers lighted, and turned about Hamilton's waggons, and threw over that wherein was all his plate, as they brought it down the hill; but the Scots having no mind to rescue it, suffered them to carry the prize away in the face of their whole army, though nothing to fright them, but a forlorn hope of horse.—That night our regiment was appointed quarters in Preston."—Hodgson, 119.

I ordered Collonel *Thornhaugh* to Command two or three Regiments of Horse, to follow the enemy if it were possible, to make him stand till wee could bring up the army. The enemy marched away seven or eight thousand foote and about four thousand Horse, wee followed him with about three thousand foote, and two thousand five hundred Horse and dragoones, and in this prosecution that worthy gentleman Collonel Thornhaugh, pressing too boldly, was slaine, being ran into the body, and thigh, and head, by the enemies Launcers,* and give me leave to say, he was a man as faithfull and gallant in your service as any, and one who often heretofore lost bloud in your quarrel, and now his last. He hath left some behind him to inherit a Father's honour, and a sad Widdow, both now the interest of the commonwealth.

Our Horse still prosecuted the enemy, killing and taking divers all the way. At last the enemy drew up within three miles of Wiggon, and by that time our army was come up, they drew off again, and recovered Wiggon, before we could attempt any thing upon them. We lay that night in the field close by the enemy, being very dirty and weary, and having marched twelve miles of such ground as I never rod in all my life, the day being very wet.

We had some skirmishing that night with the enemy near the town, where we took General Van Druske and a Collonel, and killed some principal officers, and took about a hundred prisoners, where I also received a letter from Duke *Hamilton*, for civil usage towards his kinsman Collonel *Hamilton*, whom he left wounded there. We tooke also Collonel *Hurrey*, and Lt.-Col. *Ennis*, sometimes in your service.

The next morning the enemy marched towards *Warrington*, and we at the heels of them. The town of Wiggon a great and poore town, and very malignant, were plundered almost to their skins by them.

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[1] Hodgson says, "run through with a lancier in Chorley, he wanting his arms."

We could not engage the enemy until we came within three miles of *Warrington*, and there the enemy made a stand at a passe near *Winwicke*.[1] We held them in some dispute till our army came up, they maintaining the passe with great resolution for many hours, ours and theirs coming to push of pike and very close charges, and forced us to give ground, but our men, by the blessing of God, quickly recovered it, and charging very home upon them, beat them from their standing, where we killed about a thousand of them, and tooke (as we believe) about two thousand prisoners, and prosecuted them home to *Warrington* town, where they possessed the bridge, which had a strong barracado and a work upon it, formerly made very defensive. As soon as we came thither I received a message from Lieutenant-General *Baily*, desiring some capitulation to which I yielded, considering the strength of the passe, and that I could not goe over the river within ten miles of Warrington with the army, I gave him these termes, that he should surrender himself and all his officers and souldiers prisoners of war, with all his Arms and Ammunition and horses to me, I giving quarter for life, and promising civill usage, which accordingly is done, and the commissioners deputed by me have received, and are receiving all the Armes and Ammunition, which will be, as they tell me, about foure thousand compleat Armes, and as many prisoners, and thus you have their infantry totally ruined. What Collonels and Officers are with Lieutenant-General *Baily*, I have not yet received the list.

The Duke is marched with his remaining Horse, which are about three thousand, towards *Namptwich*, where the gentlemen of the country have taken about five hundred of them, of which they sent me word this day. The country will scarse suffer any of my men to passe, except they have my hand, telling them they are Scots.

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[1] Hodgson states: "We pursued to Winwick, where we found the horse was fled to Warrington Bridge, and the foot drawn up in a most advantageous place, and snaffled our forlorn and put them to retreat. So we being drawn up, horse and foot, to give them a charge, their horse appeared upon the muir from Warrington Bridge, but their foot threw down their arms, and run into Winwick Church, about four or five thousand, and there we set a guard upon them."—p. 123.

They bring in and kill divers of them as they light upon them.

Most of the nobility of *Scotland* are with the Duke. If I had a thousand Horse that could but trot thirty miles, I should not doubt but to give a very good account of them; but truly we are so harrassed and hagled out in this business, that we are not able to doe more than walke an easy pace after them.

I have sent post to my Lord *Grey*, to Sir *Henry Cholmely*, and Sir *Edward Roads*, to gather altogether with speed for their prosecution, as likewise to acquaint the governor of Stafford therewith.

I heare *Munroe* is about *Cumberland* with the Horse that ran away, and his Irish Horse and Foot, which are a considerable body. I have left Collonel *Ashton's* three regiments of Foot, with seven troops of Horse, six of *Lancashire* and one of *Cumberland* at *Preston*, and ordered Collonel *Scroop* with five troopes of Horse and two troopes of dragoones, with two regiments of foote, viz. Collonel *Lassals* and Collonell *Wastals* to embody with them, by which I hope he will be able to make a resistance till we can come up to them, and have ordered them to put their prisoners to the sword, if the Scots shall presume to advance upon them,[1] because they cannot bring them off with security.

Thus you have a narrative of the particulars of the successe which God hath given you, which I could hardly at this time have done, considering the multiplicity of businesse; but truly when I was once ingaged in it, I could hardly tell how to say lesse, there being so much of God, and I am not willing to say more, lest there should seem to be any of man: only give me leave to adde one word, shewing the disparity of the Forces on both sides, that so you may see and all the world acknowledge the great hand of God in this businesse. The Scots army could not be lesse than twelve thousand effective Foot, well arm'd, and five thousand Horse, *Langdale* not lesse than two thousand five hundred foot, and fifteen hundred Horse, in all Twenty one thousand, and truly very few of their foot but were as well arm'd, if not better than yours, and at divers disputes did fight two or three hours before they would quit their ground.

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[1] See the extract from Clarendon in a subsequent page, respecting the advice given by Sir Thomas Tyldesley to Munroe to execute that attack on the rear of the English army which Cromwell appears to have expected, and his History for the statement at length, vi. p. 88, edit. 1826; and for the sequel of the Duke of Hamilton's misfortunes, ibid. p. 75.

Yours were about two thousand five hundred Horse and Dragoones of your old army, about four thousand Foot of your old army, also about sixteen hundred *Lancashire* foot, and about five hundred *Lancashire* Horse, in all about Eight thousand six hundred. You see by computation about two thousand of the enemy slaine, betwixt eight and nine thousand prisoners, besides what are lurking in hedges and private places, which the country daily bring in or destroy. Where *Langdale* and his broken forces are I know not, but they are exceedingly shattered. Surely, Sir, this is nothing but the hand of God; and wherever any thing in this world is exalted, or exalts itself, God will pull it down, for this is the day wherein he alone will be exalted.

It is not fit for me to give advise, nor to say a word what use should be made of this, more then to pray you and all that acknowledge God, that they would only exalt him, and not hate his people, who are as the apple of his eye, and for whom even Kings shall be reproved, and that you would take courage to doe the worke of the Lord, in fulfilling the end of your Magistracy, in seeking the peace and welfare of the people of this Land, that all that will live quietly and peaceably may have countenance from you, and they that are implacable and will not leave troubling the Land may speedily be destroyed out of the Land; and if you take courage in this, God will blesse you, and good men will stand by you, and God will have glory, and the land will have happinesse by you in despight of all your enemies, which shall be the prayer of your most

Humble and faithfull Servant,

20 *August* 1648. O. CROMWELL.

Postscript.

We have not in all this lost a considerable officer but Collonel *Thornhaugh*, and not many souldiers, considering the service, but many are wounded, and our horse much wearied. I humbly crave that some course be taken to dispose of the prisoners: the trouble and extream charge of the Countrey where they lie, is more than the danger of their escape. I think they would not go home if they might without a convoy, they are so fearfull of the Country from whom they have deserved so ill. Ten men will keepe a thousand from running away.

## XLVII.

*An Impartiall Relation of the late Fight at Preston, being the Copy of a Letter written (as the tenour of it importeth) by Sir Marmaduke Langdale.* Printed in the year 1648.

An Impartiall Relation of the late Fight at Preston, being the
Copy of a Letter written (as the tenor of it importeth) by
Sir Marmaduke Langdale.

Sir,

This will give you a finall account of my imployment, which is now ended; being a prisoner in *Nottingham* Castle, where I have civill usage. You have heard the condition I was in at Settle and Sigleswick,[1] with about 3000 foot and 600 Horse, the 13 of August, where hearing the Parliament forces were gathered together, and marching towards me, I went to acquaint Duke *Hamilton* therewith to *Horneby*, where he determined for *Preston*, where (his army being numerous in foot) he might have the greater advantage upon his enemy in those enclosed Countries. I Marched neere *Clitherow* towards *Preston;* in the March I met with the Lord *Callender*, and divers of the *Scottish* officers Quartered in my way, with whom

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[1] Gigleswick.

I was resolved to march to *Preston*, but for the present the Intelligence was, that the Parliament Forces were divided, some part whereof were marched to *Colne,* and so to *Manchester*, to relieve that Towne in case we should presse upon it. This made the Officers of Horse more negligent of repayring to *Preston,* but Quartered wide in the Country.

The same night certayne intelligence came that Lt. Generall *Cromwell* with all his Forces was within 3 miles of my Quarters, which I immediately sent to the *Duke*, and told it to my Lord *Leviston* to acquaint Lt. Generall *Middleton* therewith, and drew my Forces together in a field, and so marched towards *Preston* betimes in the morning, where I found the *Duke* and Lord *Callender* with most part of the *Scottish* Foot drawne up. Their resolution was to march to *Wiggan,* giving little credit to the Intelligence that came the night before, but suffer their horse to continue in their quarters 10 and 12 miles off.

Within halfe an hower of our meeting, and by that time I was drawen into the close neere *Preston,* the Enemy appeared with a small body of Horse; the Scotts continue their resolution for *Wiggan,* for which end they drew their Foote over the Bridge. The Enemy coming the same way that I had marched, fell upon my Quarter, where we continued skirmishing six houres, in all which time the *Scott* sent me no relief: they had very few horse come up, so as those they sent me at last were but few, and were soone beaten: but if they had sent me 1000 Foote to have flanked the Enemy, I doubt not the day had been ours. Yet I kept my post, with various successe, many times gathering ground of the Enemy; and as the *Scots* acknowledg, they never saw any Foote fight better than mine did.

The *Duke* being incredulous that it was the whole army, sent Sir *Lewis Dives* to me, to whom I answered that it was impossible any forces that were inconsiderable would adventure to presse upon so Great an army as we had, therefore he might conclude it was all the power they could make, and with which they were resolved to put all to the hazard, therefore desired that I might be seconded, and have more Power and Ammunition, I having spent nine Barrels of Powder.

The *Scots* continue their march over the River, and did not secure a Lane near the Bridge, whereby the Parliament Forces came on my flanks; neither did the Forces, that were left for my supply, come to my relief, but continued in the Reare of mine, nor did they ever face the Enemy, but in bringing up the Reare.

When most part of the *Scots* were drawn over the Bridge, the Parliament Forces pressed hard upon me in the Van and Flanks, and so drive me into the Towne, where the *Duke* was in person, with some few horse; but all being lost, Retreated over a foord to his Foote. After my Forces were beaten, the Parliament Forces beat the *Scots* from the Bridge presently, and so came over into all the Lanes, that we could not joyne with the Foote, but were forced to *Charlow*, where we found Lt. General *Middleton* ready to advance towards *Preston* towards the Foote, which he did; but not finding them there, returned to *Wiggan*, where the *Duke* was with his Foote (mine totally lost).

There they tooke a resolution to go to my Lord *Biron*, for which end they would march that night to *Warrington*. In their march the Parliament Forces fell so fast upon their Rear, that they could not reach *Warrington* that night. And Lieutenant Generall *Middleton* finding himself unable to withstand their Forces, left the Foote in *Warrington* to make their own conditions.

So as we marched towards *Malpas*, sixe of the *Scottish* Lords in this march left us, whereof my Lord *Traquaire* was one. Most part submitted to the Sheriff of *Shropshire*, who sent two Gentlemen of that Country to the Duke to offer him the same quarter that the Earl of *Traquaire* had. From *Malpas* we marched to *Drayton* and so to *Stone;* in our march from thence to *Uttoxeter*, the Parliament Forces fell upon the Reare, and took Lieutenant Generall *Middleton.*

At *Utoxeter* the next morning going to attend the *Duke* for his resolution, I found him extreame sick, not able to March. My Lord *Callender* seemed to refuse all wayes of Treaty, but rather to march Northward, where we had a considerable Force, and the whole kingdome of *Scotland* at our backs. Upon this we marched over the river toward *Ashburne.* I had the Van, and was marching; presently my Lord of *Callender* came to me, told me he would march with me, but that none of his forces would, and that he had much ado to escape them; that he was come himself alone, his Horse pricked in the foote, and without a Cloake. I perswaded his Lordship that it was better to return to his Forces, because I could not protect him; and seeing the *Scots* had left me, I was resolved to sever and shift every man for him selfe, but to capitulate I could not with a safe conscience.

After some little discourse he returned to his forces, and I marched towards *Nottingham,* where those few I had took several wayes, and I got that night over *Trent,* and came to a House 6 miles from *Nottingham,* where myselfe, Collonel *Owen*, Lieutenant Collonel *Galliard,* and Major *Constable,* thought to have shrowded ourselves as Parliamenteers, and so made no resistance, but were discovered, and are now in *Nottingham* Castle, this 26 of *August* 1648.

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## XLVIII.

### *A Particular of the several Victories, and the Occasions of the Solemn Day of Thanksgiving, appointed by both Houses of Parliament to be kept through the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales, on Thursday, the* 7 *of September* 1648.

26 *Augusti* 1648.

Ordered by the Commons assembled in Parliament, That the Particular occasions of the Solemn day of Thanksgiving, appointed to be kept throughout the Kingdom of *England,* and Dominion of *Wales,* on Thursday, the 7 of *September* 1648, Together with the Order for a Collection for maimed Soldiers and poor visited people of Lancaster, be Read on the aforesaid 7 day of *September* in all Churches and Chappels in the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*. And that the Knights and Burgesses of the respective Counties, Cities and Places, do send printed Copies of the same. H. ELSYNGE, *Cler. Parl. D. Com.*

*London*, Printed for *Edward Husband*, Printer to the Honorable House of Commons, *August* 28, 1648.

## THE PARTICULAR OCCASIONS OF THE SOLEMN DAY OF THANKSGIVING, ETC. ETC.

1, 2, 3. (The first relates to the recovery of *Tinmouth Castle* on the 11th of August, the second to the reduction of *Deal Castle* by Col. *Rich*, and the third to the defeat of Sir *Henry Lingen* and his party in Montgomeryshire on August 17.)

"4. And above all, the most remarkable Victory obtained the Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth days of this instant August, by the Forces under the Command of Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, not being full Nine thousand upon the place, against the whole Army of the Scots, under the Command of Duke *Hamilton*, conjoyned with a considerable Body of English under Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, exceeding in the whole the number of One and twentie thousand; in which Victory and the Pursuit thereof above Ten thousand were taken Prisoners, amongst whom are the Earl of *Traquire*, and divers others of the Scotish Nobility, the Lieutenant General of the Horse, the Lieutenant General of the Foot, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and many other Knights, Gentlemen, and Officers of Principal quality, most of their Arms, Ammunition, Bag and Baggage, One hundred and fifty Colours of Horse and Foot, above Three thousand of the Enemy slain, with a very small loss to the Parliament Forces, not exceeding the number of One hundred at the most, and the Victory every day encreasing by additional Successes.

"5. Nor must we (for the greater glory of this deliverance) omit to observe the conjuncture of time, wherein God hath thus appeared the strong Redeemer of his people, and mightily pleaded their Cause; even in such a time, when there was a general conspiracy and association of the common Enemy both by Sea and Land, and wherein by subtile insinuations and specious pretences of maintaining the Covenant, they had wrought a very great defection against the ends of the said Covenant, in divers who formerly adhered to the Parliament; witness the several Insurrections in Wales, Kent, Yorkshire, Suffolk, Essex, Sussex, and divers other places, the revolt of some part of the Navy, the Risings of the Lord Goring, Lord Capel, Earl of Holland, and their parties.

"For all which and many more seasonable mercies, we earnestly desire that our Almighty Lord, the Lord of Hosts, may be onely owned and acknowledged, and that the eyes and hearts of his people may always be towards him for salvation and deliverance."

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### *An Order of the Commons assembled in Parliament for a Contribution for the maimed Soldiers and poor visited People of Lancaster.*

"Forasmuch as the estates of the Inhabitants of the County of *Lancaster* having been almost wholly exhausted by the former War, and by the many heavy Oppressions and Plunderings of the Scots Army lying upon them, and also by the charge of the wounded and maimed Soldiers, and the many poor people infected with the Plague within that County, who are by reason thereof likely to be destitute of relief, unless some supply to them be to them speedily afforded; in consideration whereof, and for some present relief to the said wounded Soldiers and poor people, It is Ordered by the Commons assembled in Parliament, that all such voluntary Contributions upon the next general Thanksgiving Day, being the 7 of September next, which shall be given in the severall Parishes through England and Wales, shall be converted, the one half thereof to the said wounded Soldiers, and the other half thereof to the said poor people.

"And for that end and purpose, all the severall Ministers of all the several Churches and Chapels in *England* and *Wales* are hereby required to move and stir up the people that Day to a liberal Contribution for the relief of the said wounded Soldiers and poor people, and to cause all the moneys which shall be thereupon given, to be forthwith paid over to the several high Sheriffs of each respective County wherein those Contributions shall be made.

"And the said severall Sheriffs are hereby required forthwith to send the said moneys unto Mr. *Henry Ashurst* of *Watling Street* in the City of *London*, Draper, or unto Mr. *Richard Waddington*, of *Whaly*, in the said County of *Lancaster;* and the said Mr. *Henry Ashurst* shall upon Receipt of any of the said monies transmit and pay over the same unto the said Richard Waddington, and the said Richard Waddington shall upon receipt of any of the said moneys forthwith pay over the one half thereof unto the said Soldiers, and the other half thereof unto the said poor people, in such manner and by such sums and proportions as shall be Ordered and Appointed by the Justices of the Peace of the said County of *Lancaster*, or the major part of them, by their writing under their Hands and Seals.

"H. ELSYNGE, *Cler. Parl. D. Com.*"

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*Die Mercurii*, 23 *Augusti* 1648.

"Ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, That Thursday come fortnight, the seventh of September next, be appointed a Day of Solemn

Thanksgiving through the whole Kingdom unto Almighty God, for his wonderful great mercy and success bestowed upon the Parliament Forces, under the Command of Lieut. General *Cromwel*, against the whole Scots Army, under the Conduct and Command of Duke Hamilton, on the Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth of this present *August* in *Lancashire*.

"H. Elsynge, *Cler. Parl. D. Com.*"

## Movements and Fortunes of the Lancashire Royalists commanded by Sir Thomas Tyldesley, after the failure of Hamilton's Expedition.

*Clarendon*, vi. 88, edit. 1826.

Sir Thomas Tildesley (after the battle of Preston), was left "with a body of English, with which he had besieged the Castle of Lancaster, and was upon the point of reducing it, when the news of Preston arrived."

It is added that he then fell back upon Munroe's reserve, on the border of Lancashire, gathering up Sir Marmaduke Langdale's broken forces and imperfect levies, and counselled to follow Cromwell in the rear, being equal in number to his army, "*which might very well have been done;*" but no explicit answer could be obtained, and the English followed Monroe northwards from day to day, through a country hostile to him in consequence of his previous plunder.

*Rushworth*, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1294. *Monday*, *Oct.* 16, 1648.

"Letters came this day to the House, that Col. General Ashton having relieved Cockermouth Castle, the enemy betook themselves to Appleby. The Col. General pursued and sent them summons, requiring them to render themselves to mercy, upon which they willingly consented to a treaty, and it was agreed the inferior officers to go home; the great ones, as Sir Philip Musgrave, Sir Thomas Tilnsley, Sir Robert Stricland, Sir William Hudleston, and other officers, to go beyond sea, and six months to provide for their expedition."

## XLIX.

*A Great Victory at Appleby, by Col. General Ashton, October 9th,* 1648, *where were taken prisoners at mercy, Sir Philip Musgrave,* *Sir Thomas Tilsey, Sir Robert Strickland, Sir William Huddleston, Sir Thomas Dacres, Sir William Blackstone,* 15 *Collonels,* 9 *Lieutenant-Collonels,* 6 *Sergeant-Majors,* 46 *Captains,* 17 *Lieutenants,* 10 *Cornets,* 3 *Ensigns, with a List of their Names,* 5 *Peece of Ordnance,* 1,200 *Horse,* 1,000 *Armes, and all their Ammunition, Bag and Baggage, October* 16*th,* 1648. *This is a true List; a Copy whereof was sent from Col. General Ashton, and this day delivered to the Parliament.*

*London: Printed* for *R. Smithurst,* near *Pye-Corner*, 1648.

### The Copy of a Letter from *Appleby Castle.*

Right Honourable,

After Colonell *Generall Ashton* had relieved *Cockermouth Castle* with the *Lancashire* Forces, the *English* Horse would have entred *Carlisle,* but were not permitted by those that were there before; whereupon some of them dispersed severall wayes, and the body of the Cavalry marched hither to *Appleby,* whither *Col. Gen. Ashton* came against them, and found about 1000 besides the Garrison Souldiers. They had 1,200 Horse, but our Souldiers bought most of them at small rates before the surrender, which was after made; the particulars whereof was thus:—

Col. Gen. *Ashton* sent a summons for them to be all prisoners at mercy, and surrender their Armes to the Parliament, with *Appleby Castle,* and all the Armes and Ammunition. This occasioned some overtures for surrender thereof, which was done with speed, and *Saturday, October* 7th, all things were concluded between them.

The terms were, for the inferior Officers and Common Souldiers to go home, lay downe their Armes and be quiet, and observe all Orders and Ordinances of Parliament; and Sir *Philip Musgrave,* Sir *Thomas Tilsley,* Sir *Robert Strickeland,* Sir *William Huddleston,* and the rest of the Officers to goe beyond the seas, and to have six months allowed to stay and provide for their going, (except the Parliament shall in the interim doe any thing in their behalfe) they to observe all Orders and Ordinances of Parliament, which, if they do not, then to have no benefit of the Articles, and to be at the Parliament's mercy.

I have sent you herewith, a List of the Officers, and also a List of the Ordnance, Horse, and Armes. On Munday, October 9th, they delivered the Castle, and surrendered their Horses and Armes that were left, most of which they had sold before, and so the number surrendred was but smal, save only 500 foot Arms in the Castle. But, however, though the soldiers paid a smal matter for them, and indeed it was but smal, yet we have 1,200 of their Horse. For the particulars I referre you to the inclosed.

Appleby, 11th October, 1648.

*A List of the Officers surrendred, and Ordnance, Armes, Ammunition and Horse, taken at Appleby by Col. Gen. Ashton, the 9th of Oct.* 1648.

Col. Sir Philip Musgrave, Commander in Chief
Col. Sir Tho. Tilsley[1]
Col. Sir Rob. Strickland
Col. Sir Wil. Huddleston
Col. Sir Tho. Dacres
Col. Sir Phil. Blackstone
Col. Wil. Middleton
Col. Henry Chester
Col. Henry Woogan
Col. Wil. Carleton
Col. Edw. Gerhard
Col. George Denton
Col. Rich. Egerton
Col. Edw. Chesnall
Col. Gerhard Lowther
Lieut. Col. Roscarick, Governor of Appleby
Lieut. Col. Ed. Hutchinson
Lieut. Col. Phillipson
Lieut. Col. Bellingham
Lieut. Col. Ewbanke
Lieut. Col. Strickland
Lieut. Col. Crackenthorpe
Lieut. Col. Holt
Lieut. Col. Corney
Serj. Major Tho. Glasier
Serj. Major Michael Moone
Serj. Major Wil. Hodgkinson
Serj. Major Tho. Sandys
Serj. Major James Butler
Serj. Major Wil. Wandell
Capt. Henry Musgrave
Capt. John Denton
Capt. Rob. Hilton
Capt. John Hilton
Capt. Wil. Musgrave
Capt. Rich. Backster
Capt. John Tompson

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[1] Clarendon (*Hist. of Great Rebellion*, vi. 506, edit. 1826) states that Sir Thomas Tildesley, "refusing to make any composition after the murder of the King, found means to transport himself into Ireland to the Marquis of Ormond, with whom he stayed till he was, with the rest of the English officers, dismissed, to satisfy the barbarous jealousy of the Irish, and then got over into Scotland, a little before the King marched from thence, and was desired by the Earl of Derby to remain with him."

It will appear further, from the statements alleged to have been made by the Earl of Derby at Chester (see the account of his trial subjoined), that Tyldesley was in Lancashire before the King's march from Scotland, and that he fled thence to the Earl of Derby in the Isle of Man, on the discovery of the plot against the Parliament.

Capt. Homer
Capt. Hen. Brabin
Capt. Robert Westley
Capt. Edw. Wright
Capt. Row. Beckingham
Capt. John Dracott
Capt. Edw. Revell
Capt. Sam. Potter
Capt. John Bickley
Capt. John Harling
Capt. Peter Shepperd
Capt. Rob. Dixon
Capt. Hum. Bagguly
Capt. John Croft
Capt. Hen. Crossland
Capt. Rob. Wormley
Capt. Page
Capt. Tho. Sandford
Capt. Ralph Willie
Capt. John Bamfield
Capt. Rich. Lowther
Capt. Sam. Beale
Capt. Phil. Catroni
Capt. Francis Wood
Capt. Micha. Lyme
Capt. Thomas Leigh
Capt. Stephen Page
Capt. Ed. Lamplugh
Capt. Jo. Whelpdale
Capt. Jo. Stevenson
Capt. Rob. Leake
Capt. Lanslot Walker
Capt. Tho. Maxfield
Capt. Edw. Worley
Capt. Ro. Highington
Capt. Henry Ashton
Capt. George Hudson
Capt. Moone
Capt. Wil. Hardcot
Lieut. Wil. Hudleston
Lieut. Rich. Barker
Lieut. Bayley
Lieut. Wilfrid Carey
Lieut. Phil. Dracot
Lieut. Jo. Whiteside
Lieut. Jo. Osbaderson
Lieut. John Serjeant
Lieut. Robert Moon
Lieut. Henry Banks
Lieut. Crackenthorp
Lieut. Rob. Long
Lieut. John Hodgiton
Lieut. Chris. Rawley
Lieut. Danking
Lieut. Barth Hough
Lieut. Patrick Hamilton
Cornet Daniel Mayes
Cornet John Barchel
Cornet Richard Harford
Cornet Will. Richardson
Cornet Will. Curtis
Cornet John Cholmley
Cornet Henry Lampleigh
Cornet Richard Staindy
Cornet Tho. Bowyer
Cornet Will. Blencesset
Ensigne Henry Harling
Ensigne Henry Sewell
Ensigne John Peacock

2 Officers of the Train
Richard Walker
John Singleton

Judge Advocate,
Mr. Edward Constable

Dr. Samuel Stephens

Two Chaplains
Mr. Francis Gest
Mr. Young

A List of the Horse and Ammunition.
5 Piece of Ordnance
1200 Horse
1000 Armes
15 Collonels
9 Lieutenants
6 Serjeant Majors
46 Captains
10 Cornets
3 Ensigns

## DISBANDING OF THE MILITIA OF LANCASHIRE.

*Rushworth*, part iv. vol. ii. 1365. *Sat. Dec.* 16, 1648.

"The House this day, according to former order, had the Ordinance for repealing the former Ordinance for settling the Militia of the Kingdom read, which was assented to, and presently transmitted to the House of Peers. *An Ordinance was likewise read for repealing the Ordnance for the Militia of the County of Lancaster, which was read and assented to*, and transmitted to the House of Peers."

*Whitelock's Memorials*, edit. 1732. *March* 20, 1648-9 (p. 390).

"Letters from Lancaster that the forces of Col. Aston (Ashton), about four thousand, refuse to disband, profess for the Covenant, and are encouraged by the Clergy: that Major General Lambert is gone to disband them by force, if there is no other way."

*March* 27 (p. 392).

"The Lancashire forces submitted to disband, and quitted Clithero Castle. Order for that Castle to be demolished, and that the Council of State consider what other inland Castles are fit to be demolished."

## L.

May 24th, 1649.

*A true representation of the present sad and lamentable condition of the County of Lancaster, and particularly of the towns of Wigan, Ashton, and the parts adjacent.*

The hand of God is evidently seen stretched out upon the county, chastening it with a three-corded scourge of sword, pestilence, and famine, all at once afflicting it. They have borne the heat and burden of a first and second war in an especial manner above other parts of the nation. Through them the two great bodies of the late *Scottish* and *English* armies passed, and in their very bowels was that great fighting, bloud shed, and breaking. In this county hath the plague of pestilence been ranging these three years and upwards, occasioned chiefly by the wars. There is a very great scarcity and dearth of all provisions, especially of all sorts of grain, particularly that kind by which that country is most sustained, which is full six-fold the price that of late it hath been. All trade, by which they have been much supported, is utterly decayed; it would melt any good heart to see the numerous swarms of begging poore, and the many families that pine away at home, not having faces to beg. Very many nowe craving almes at other men's dores, who were used to give others almes at their dores—to see paleness, nay death appear in the cheeks of the poor, and often to hear of some found dead in their houses, or highways, for want of bread.

But particularly the townes of *Wigan* and *Ashton*, with the neighbouring parts, lying at present under the sore stroak of God in the pestilence, in one whereof are full two thousand poor, who, for three months and upwards, have been restrained, no relief to be had for them in the ordinary course of law, there being none at present to act as Justices of the Peace. The collections in our congregations, (their only supply hitherto) being generally very slack and slender, those wanting ability to helpe who have hearts to pity them. Most men's estates being much drained by the wars, and now almost quite exhauste by the present scarsity, and many other burdens incumbent upon them, there is no bonds to keep in the infected hunger-starved poore, whose breaking out jeapoardeth all the neighbourhood, some of them already being at the point to perish through famine, have fetch in, and eaten, carion, and other unwholesome food, to the destroying of themselves, and increasing of the infection; and the more to provoke pity and mercy, it may be considered that this fatall contagion had its rise evidently from the wounded Souldiers of our army left there for cure.

All which is certified to some of the Reverend Ministers of the City of *London*, by the Major, Minister, and other persons of credit, inhabitants in, or well-wishers to, and well acquainted with the town of *Wigan*, together with four godly and faithful Ministers of *Lancashire* by Providence in this City at present.

Now if God shall stir up the hearts of any, or more congregations in, and about the City of *London*, (the premises considered) to yeeld their charitable contribution to the necessities of these afflicted and distressed parts and places, it wil be carefully sought after, and thankfully received by Mr. *James Wainwright*, Mr. *Thomas Markelande*, Mr. *James Winstanley*, and Mr. *John Leaver*, or some of them, and faithfully disposed according to Christian discretion, by Major General *Ashton*, *William Ashurst*, *Peter Brokes*, Esquires, *Mr. Jolly*, Major of *Wigan*, together with Mr. *Richard Heyricke*, Mr. *Charles Herle*, Mr. *Alexander Horrockes*, and Mr. *James Hyet*, Ministers of the Gospel, or some of them.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Ambrose Jolly*, Major | | of the town of Wigan. |
| *James Bradshaw*, Minister | | |
| *John Standish*<br>*Ralph Markland* | Bailiffs | |

| | |
|---|---|
| *James Hyet*<br>*Richard Hollingworth*<br>*Isaac Ambrose*<br>*John Tilsley* | Ministers of Lancashire. |

# Chapter XIII.

NOTICES OF THE EARL OF DERBY'S RETIREMENT TO MAN, AND MILITARY OCCUPATION THEREOF—THE SEIZURE OF HIS CHILDREN AS HOSTAGES BY THE PARLIAMENT—HIS NEGOTIATION WITH IRETON, SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION WITH THE KING'S COMMISSIONERS, AND INVITATION OF FUGITIVE ROYALISTS—AND HIS PREPARATIONS FOR JOINING THE KING IN HIS ROUTE THROUGH LANCASHIRE TO WORCESTER.

1643—1651.

1643. Between April 20, when the Earl was defeated at Whalley, and June 6, when the Queen left York for Oxford, Lord D. went to Man from York. See p. 99. The *Perfect Diurnall* notices his presence in what it sarcastically terms "*Holy Island*," on June 30. See p. 146. For this he gives the following reasons:

"It was desired by all the gentrie that I would goe to the Queene, representing their necessities,—which I did, leaving some considerable forces in Lancashire.—

"That same time a report was gott of some Scots, intending to assist the pretended Parliament of England, that they would land in the North, and by the way doe their endeavour to get the Isle of Man, which doubtlesse had been a great inconvenience to his Majesties affairs for many reasons."

[Here follows an account of the Earl's wish to continue in England, and attend the Queen to Oxford, where the King was; and of discontents in the Isle, objections to old laws, bishops and tithes,—rescues of prisoners,—invitations of strangers,—and the reported seizures of the Earl's ship of war there by Parliament ships.]

"All these considered, it behoved me to prevent the mischief betimes, both for his Majesties service, and mine own good. Her Majestie and those with her rightly weighed the danger, as witnesse my Lord *Goring*, Lord *Digby*, Lord *Jermyn*, Sir *Edward Deering*, and many more,—all who were of opinion that my coming hither was necessarie; and accordingly I did.

"Thus farr have I digressed from my intended discourse to take off that objection, if I were asked, when every gallant spiritt had engaged himself for King and Country. why I left the land, soe wicked as to desert the cause, soe simple as to become a neuter.—

"How others may be pleased herewith I know not, (but) rather thinke these shorte Relations may more puzzle their mindes, if any chance to see this, but you, my sonn, who are bound to beleive well of your father."—*Memoir by James, Earl of Derby; Peck's Desiderata*, xi. 23.

1643-4, *Jan.* 27.—The Earl of Derby was probably still resident in the Isle of Man, as his name occurs in Rushworth (part iii. vol. ii. 574) at this date, among the Peers employed in the King's service, or absent from the Parliament at Oxford with leave. Subsequently, the *Diary of Lathom Siege* notices him as returning to England, on a summons to this Parliament. And on March 20 Lady Derby sends a messenger to him *at Chester*. See pp. 161, 171.

1644, *May* 28. The Earl once more appears in Lancashire warfare, as commander of the forlorn of the storming party at Bolton; and after the storm of Liverpool, and Rupert's visit to Lathom, Seacome mentions the urgent advice of that Prince, that the Earl should forthwith retire to Man, partly with reference to jealousies and suspicions at Court, and partly with the object of sheltering the hopes of the Earl's house, his rising family, from the uncertainties of the war. (Seacome, 112, 117.) Lord Derby, nevertheless, is stated to have continued at Lathom until September. See pp. 206, 207.

1645 and 1646. The little that occurs as to Lord Derby at this period, relates to his literary occupations, and a brief return to the elegant pursuits from which the Civil War had drawn him. Lodge notices one of his common-place books with the date of 1645, now in the Sloane Collection, in the British Museum; another, dated "1646, Castle Rushin, in the I. of Man," is in the possession of the Rev. John Webb of Tretire. He also improved the military defences of his island, by fortifications in its centre and at the point of Ayre, particularly noticed in Chaloner's *Hist. of Man*, and raised it to that almost impregnable strength which defied the power of the Parliament after its Lord's death in 1651, until obtained by them under the desertion of the Countess's soldiers. In March 1645-6, Whitelocke (p. 196) notices "a difference of opinion between the Houses about the Earl of Derby" and others, whom the *Lords* thought fit *not* to except from pardon.

1647. It is stated that the children of Lord D. (Charles Lord Strange, Henry and William Stanley, and the Ladies Henriette Marie, Catherine and Amelia) had visited England in 1645, under a pass from Fairfax, with hopes of obtaining a fifth part of the paternal estate, under an ordinance of that year. Their petition was granted in 1647, and they were put into possession of Knowsley, under the protecting influence of Fairfax. The documents are given by Seacome, 125-9.

1648. The Earl's children are stated further to have been removed to Liverpool within a year, and there kept prisoners by Birch, under the direction of Bradshaw, and for the alleged cause of Lord D.'s holding Man against the Parliament. The generous mediation of Fairfax was unsuccessful; and as late as July 1650 the Parliament, on a report from the Council of State, approved this detention, and "a message was sent to the Earl, *that if he did continue* his harsh usage of the prisoners he had of the Parliament party, they would do the like to his family here; and to demand the release of the prisoners."—*Whitelocke*, 465.

Seacome mentions, that on the Earl's landing in Lancashire in 1651, the children were sent by Birch to *Chester* for greater security; and it will appear from many passages in the Earl's Letters to Lady Derby and Bagaley's Narrative, that the Ladies Caroline and Amelia were there when he was a prisoner. It is, however, clear from the same authorities that Lord Strange was at large, and living with his wife, the Baroness, in England; and that Lady Henriette Marie, and her younger brothers William and Edward, were with the Countess in Man.

1649. The Parliament attempted to enter into treaty with the Earl respecting a surrender of the island to them, in consideration of taking off the sequestration of his estates, which occasioned a letter from him to his sovereign Charles II, then at the Hague, and also the celebrated and indignant reply to Commissary General Ireton (through whom the application was made to him), dated

July 12, which is printed in the *State Trials*, Somers' *Tracts*, Seacome's *Memoirs*, &c. &c.

This matter is noticed in a Tract entitled

"*A Message sent from the Earl of Derby, Governor of the Isle of Man, to his dread Sovereign Charles the II, King of Scotland, &c. And his Lordship's Declaration to his Majesty concerning the Treaty, and Major General Ireton, &c. Printed at York, and reprinted for W. R.* 4*to*."

And it is also noticed, much more at length, in the following Declaration, published as a separate Tract, and as the composition of Lord Derby:

"*A Declaration of the Right Honorable James Earl of Derby, Lord Stanley, Strange of Knockin and of the Isle of Man, concerning his resolution to keep the Isle of Man for His Majesties Service, against all force whatsoever. Together with his Lordship's Letter in answer to Commissary General Ireton.* 8 *pp. Lond. A.D.* 1649."

This declaration bears date July 18. It is not improbable that some uneasiness had prevailed at the Hague respecting Ireton's commission, as on June 5 two commissions were issued there by King Charles II to Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Sir Lewis Dives (brother, on the mother's side, to the Earl of Bristol) to repair to the Isle of Man, and assist the Earl in keeping the same, "both by counsell and personal service." It appears that they reached Man two days after the letter had been written to Ireton, and that they advised the Earl to publish his declaration of July 18, which is written in a turgid style, and was considered, as the Knights admit, to be a "*meer fiction*," and "*no whit the sence of Derby*." On this account they published the following Declaration, highly complimentary to the Earl, and containing the preceding particulars:

"*A Declaration of the Noble Knights Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Sir Lewis Dives, in vindication of the Right Honourable James Earl of Derby, and remonstrating their Resolutions to keep the Isle of Man against all opposition in His Majesty's Service, August the 5th*, 1649. *London, Printed in the Year* 1649, 4*to*.',

In the close of the Declaration issued by the Earl of Derby on July 18, he announces his intention to hold the Island to the advantage of his Majesty, and the annoyance of all rebels and their abettors, and cheerfully invites all his allies, friends and acquaintance, "all his tenants in the Counties of *Lancaster* or *Chester* or elsewhere, and all other loyal subjects of his Majesty, to repair to his Island as their general rendezvous and safe harbour, where they shall receive entertainment and encouragement as their qualities and conditions shall require, and where we will unanimously employ our forces to the ruin of the Regicides, and their final destruction by land and sea."[1]

There can be no doubt that the invitation so freely given was extensively accepted, but no movement took place on the part of the Earl before 1651, when he appears, from documents connected with his trial, to have been in correspondence with the Scots, and with the Presbyterian party in Lancashire. Hither Tyldesley, Ashurst, and others, are said to have fled, when their intended movement in that county was discovered; and hence Derby sailed with his two frigates, and the gallant band of devoted Royalists entertained by him, with the intent of joining Charles in his march to Worcester.

The result of this Expedition is given in the Tracts following.[2]

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[1] The local excitement caused in Lancashire by these preparations was heightened in the spring following, namely, in Feb. 1649-50, by a remarkable appearance of Parhelia, which are descanted upon in a Tract entitled "A True Relation of strange Apparitions seen in the Air, on Monday, 25 February, in and about the town of Bolton in the Mores," in a letter from Ellis Bradshaw, 1650. The appearance is described at length, as seen at midday, at the time of the weekly market; and is also noticed in Hollinworth's *Chronicle*, with reference to its appearance at Manchester, but with the inaccurate date of Feb. 26. Instances of similar dismay and excitement caused by another phenomenon, the Aurora Borealis, before and after this period, are noticed in Hunter's *Life of Heywood*, p. 37.

[2] It is proper to advert here, briefly, to a series of letters published in Mr. Cary's *Memorials of the Great Civil War*, relative to the Earl's preparations for the descent on Lancashire. They commence (p. 283) with a letter from the Duke of Buckingham to Lord Derby, dated Stirling, July 24, and followed by one from Lord D. to his secretary Browne; stating himself to be in readiness to come to Lancashire, when called, "with five hundred good fellows in good equipage," and recommending the repetition of the Scots' report, "that the DUKE OF DERBY is coming with *five thousand* men," until often repeating turns jest into earnest.

He also mentions his having communicated his intentions in Lancashire, that the *King may not suffer as Hamilton did*, by coming without him; and his wish that the gentlemen in Man may know the King's desires that the Earl's commands may be obeyed there as his own, as the effecting the security of Man would "be a service as acceptable as if it were done in England."

Subsequent to these are a farewell letter from Lady Henriette Marie Stanley to Tyldesley (Aug. 11), written lightly and gracefully, in a style more French than English, just as she learned that the adverse wind had changed for a breeze towards Lancashire. Another (Aug. 12) follows from Colonel Roger Whitley at (Mierscough) Lodge, who was then (as will appear from the following Tract) one day in advance of King Charles in Lancashire, addressed to Sir Philip Musgrave, and praying earnestly the attendance of himself and Tyldesley, even if Derby were detained in Man. Others from Derby himself (Aug. 12) are addressed to Tyldesley as "*Thom*," with the explanation, "*so I call you, lest I should offend you*," dispatched from Castle Rushin to the port at Douglas, where Tyldesley was superintending the embarkation, and all preparing for the descent on Lancashire, for which a favourable wind was blowing. These letters and the following Tract mutually illustrate each other.

# Chapter XIV.

## THE MARCH OF CHARLES II THROUGH LANCASHIRE TOWARDS WORCESTER. AUGUST 1651.

The following documents relate to the March of Charles through Lancashire, down to the time of his skirmish with Lambert at Warrington Bridge; where the Royal Army turned off westwards, towards Shrewsbury, and eventually towards Worcester, abandoning the direct march on London, leaving Cromwell in their rear. Clarendon's account of the previous proceedings of the King, and the motives in which they originated, will be found in his History, Edit. 1826, vol. 6, pp. 488-497; and several interesting letters on the same subject in Cary's Memorials, 1842.

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### LI.

### Advance of King Charles from Lancaster to Warrington.

*Mercurius Politicus. No.* 63, *Aug.* 21, 1651, *p.* 1004.[1]

Letter from Major-General Harrison, dated 14 Inst.

Sir,

Yesterday we joyned on Hazel Moor, and are now about 6000 Horse in the van of the enemy. The Enemy made some halt on Ellel Moor, four miles from Lancaster, but afterwards passed on thro' Preston towards Warrington Bridge, where we have 3000 foot waiting conjunction with us from Chesh. and Staffordshire.

Cheshire hath been very forward in levies, most of the beforementioned foot being from thence. Six hundred of Col. Jermie's Horse are come to Manchester, and ordered to Warrington.

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[1] The dates *in brackets are additions to the original text.*

*Ibid, p.* 1008, *the following letter without address or signature.*

Sir,

This day sennight [9th][1] Renegade *Wogan* came into Kendal with some troops, and charged the town to provide for 1000 Horse. Upon Monday [11th] treacherous *Boynton* came into *Lancaster* with six Troops, to make provision for 1000 *Van-Curriers*, commanded by the Duke of *Buckingham;* upon Tuesday [12th] the *Scots* King came thither and set all the prisoners in the Castle at liberty. Hee was proclaimed at the *Crosse*, and a *general pardon* to all persons except some few. That night [12th] he lodged at *Aston Hall*,[2] three miles from Lancaster, being Col. Wainman's house, where Hamilton lodged two days before the battail at Preston, whose fate we hope attends this young man that traces him in the same steps of Invasion. Upon Wednesday [13th] he lodged at *Myerscoe*,[3] Sir *Thomas Tildesley's* house, and from thence marched through *Preston.* Upon Thursday [14th], his foot having the van over *Ribble* Bridg, that night he lodged at *Euxton-Burgh,*[1] six miles on this side of *Preston,* being Mr. *Hugh Anderton's* house, who was prisoner at *Lancaster,* but set at liberty by the Scots. This *Anderton* is a bloody Papist, and one that when Prince *Rupert* was at *Bolton* boasted much of being in blood to the elbows at that cruell massacre. The last night [15th], their King lodged at *Brine,*[2] six miles from Warrington, being Sir *William Gerard's* house, who is a subtle jesuited Papist. This dissembling *Scot* trusts none so well in *Lancashire* for his hosts as the papists, which discovers his gross hypocrisy in taking the Covenant, and may let our *English* as well as *Scotch* Presbyters see, how they were deceived with vain conceits of this man's Religion.

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[1] The allusions in the text relate to the desertion of the Parliamentarian cause by Captain Wogan, afterwards an active Royalist, and to Col. Boynton's alleged betrayal of his kinsman Hotham at Hull, in 1643. See for the latter, Rushworth, part 3, vol. ii. p. 276; and for the death of Wogan, in the service of Middleton in the Highlands, in 1655, see Clarendon (Edit. 1826, vii. 58). It is the subject of a well-known elegy in Waverley, with the inaccurate date of 1649 instead of 1655.

[2] Colonel Wainman was probably possessed of Ashton, under sequestration, as it was the property of Charles Lord Gerard of Bromley, from whose family it passed by marriage to the Hamiltons. It was the resting-place of King James in his progress of 1617 (see Nichols's *Progresses*, iii. 395), and is the subject of a fine engraving in Whitaker's *Richmondshire.*

[3] Mierscough Lodge appears to have been as fortunate in avoiding parliamentary sequestrations, as its gallant owner was, up to this period, in escaping the usual consequences of steady and active opposition and repeated captures. In an earlier part of the Tracts, Mierscough has been noticed as receiving King James in his progress of 1617 (whose route was followed so far by his grandson), but in 1651 nothing habitable remained at Hoghton, as on the former occasion, to give the next night's repose to a royal visitor.

From a letter of Col. Whitley's, noticed in page 285, it appears that on the 12th, as perhaps on other occasions, a part of the Court travelled in advance of Charles, as a letter of that date was despatched from " the Lodge" to Sir Philip Musgrave, then in the Isle of Man, and detained with his noble host by contrary winds, praying that he and Tyldesley would join K. Charles in Lancashire, if the Earl found it impossible to do so.

Most people of all sorts in *Cumberland*, *Westmorland*, and *Lancashire,* fled as fast from the *Scots* and their King, as themselves did from their beggarly kingdom.

Tis reported their King blames Major *Ashurst* for bringing him into Lancashire, since he finds no more accesse of forces. I do not hear that any considerable person doth openly own him since his march into *England.* Wherefore we doubt not but God hath ordered his coming hither for the more speedy and totall ruin of him and his adherents.

*Stockden Heath,* 16 *Aug.*

[1] Euxton Hall is near Leyland, and is described by Dr. Kuerden, who wrote a little before the date of this Tract, as "an antient fabric—the present inheritance of W. Anderton, Esq. a justice of peace under K. James, but since, a prisoner at Manchester." See Baines's *Lancashire*, iii. 452.

[2] Bryn Hall, the venerable seat of the Lancashire branch of the Gerards, was situated between Wigan and Warrington, within Ashton in Mackerfield. An interesting description of this ancient seat of a more ancient family will be found in Baines's *Lancashire* (iii. 637), taken (with corrections) from notes of Mr. Barrett of Manchester, relating not only to the architecture of the hall, but to the legends and superstitions connected with it.

In the same work (iii. 666) will be found General Harrison's account of the skirmishes at Warrington, reported here in Lambert's Letters subjoined, which admirably illustrate his adherence to the policy dictated by Cromwell, and stated by Clarendon, vi. 493.

## THE FORCING OF WARRINGTON BRIDGE, AND SKIRMISH WITH GEN. LAMBERT.

*Perfect Diurnall,* No. 89, *Aug.* 18-25, 1651.

*Tuesday, August* 19. (p. 1225.)

"This day came Letters from Lieut. Gen. *Lambert,* and Major Gen. *Harrison,* as followeth: On the 16 of *August* the enemy came on with their whole Army, and prest to passe at the bridge, and Fort neer it, which we had broken down and spoyled as well as we could in so short a time. A Company of our Foot were drawn down to the Barracadoe of the Bridge, who behaved themselves gallantly, and gave the enemy opposition, till we saw cause to draw off, securing their retreat by parties of Horse, which we did because we were unwilling to engage our Army where our Horse could not doe service through the enclosures. The enemy thereupon hastened over their whole Army, and their King in the Van, if not forlorne, with his own Lifeguard, (as some prisoners told us since) and prest hard upon our Reare, whereof Col. *Rich* had the guard, who wheeled off parties, and charged them thrice as they came on, and the Lord every time caused the enemy to flie before us.

"We killed the officer that commanded one of their parties, and two or three Troopers, and some Countreymen since tell us that 28 of theirs were slain in the several skirmishes, and but foure of ours that I can heare of, there, and at the bridge. As they fell on they cried, *Oh you rogues, we will be with you before your Cromwell comes,* which made us think they would presse to engage us with all speed. We are drawing up at *Knotford* moore to wait them; but since, we heare they are marched a good part of the night on the *London* Rode."

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*Upon the march from Knotford toward Congleton,* 17 *Aug.* 1631, *about* 9 *of the Clocke.*

From Lieut. Gen. *Lambert* thus: "I lately gave you an account of our march to *Warrington,* together with my thoughts of the untenableness of that passage, since which time the Enemy pressing closse after us, came to *Warrington* Towne before we could get the bridge broken; it was then thought fit to draw off and endeavour to retreat at least to some ground where the horse might have room to stir, the neerest being *Knotsford heath*, eight miles off, and the way very close and full of Hedges; we having got some few Pioneers, cut our waies through the Hedges, and marched our Foot on the right and left, and our Horse in the lanes. Our businesse at first looked very ill favouredly, the Enemy having drawn up at least 2000 Foot close to our Rearguards before we drew off, yet through God's assistance we passed untouched for about two miles. The enemy coming on hotly, we engaged, it not being possible to avoyd it; I commanded the Rear-guard, which consisted of Com. General's, Col. Twisleton's, and mine own Regiments, to charge, which accordingly they did, and routed them, and their owne men falling foule upon their other two bodies routed them also. We had the pursuit of them at least a mile. We killed him who commanded the party and about eight more, and took six prisoners, besides divers wounded; this gave us time to ride two miles without any more trouble, and to draw out a new Rear-guard of Col. *Rich* his Regiment, which having done, they again engaged us, and we charged them with the same successe, killed and took the same number, and after marched quietly to *Knotsford* heath, where we now are. We lost but one man in our retreat, who was taken prisoner in pursuing too far.

"*Knotsford-heath*, 17, *in the morning*."

"*A True and Full Relation of the late Skirmishes at Warrington, &c. with the present condition and station of our own and the enemies forces, drawn out of severall expresses from Knotsford, Congerton, &c. of the 17th and 18th instant.*[1]

"Upon the enemies advance from *Chorley* towards *Warrington*, Maj. Gen.

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[1] This account of the affair at Warrington has some particulars *in addition* to those given in Lambert's dispatch preceding, and also *in continuation* of them. It will be found in *Mercurius Politicus*, 1651, p. 1010, and the *Perfect Diurnall*, No. 89, p. 1227.

*Lambert* and Maj. Gen. *Harrison* marched their forces over the Bridge at *Warrington*, and at other Fords of the River, and broke down as much of the Bridge as time would give them leave.

"On Saturday, Aug. 16, about noon, the enemies scouts came into Warrington, and presently after a Forlorne hope of Horse and Dragoons, we having left one Company of foote to dispute the pass at the Bridge and Ford only to amuse the enemy (for the said passes and several other passes upon the River were not tenable by reason of the enclosed grounds, whereby our Horse could not have room to charge in order to the security of the foote) yet that single Company of the Cheshire Foot disputed the Bridge and pass with the enemy above an hour and half, and then he that commanded the foot drew them off when the Enemy began to press hard upon him.

"Presently after the Enemy marched over the pass with Horse and Foot towards our Rear Guard, and about two miles from Warrington a party of Scottish Horse came on very furiously upon our Rear Guard, crying as they charged, *O you Rogues, we will bee with you before Cromwell gets up*. Our Rear guard, consisting of a party of Major General *Lambert's*, Commissary General *Whalley's* and Col. *Twistleton's* Regiments, gave them as hot a repulse, and routed them, their owne men falling foule upon their other two bodies, routed them also, and had the pursuit of them at least a mile. Wee killed him that commanded that party, who as the prisoners say was one Major Crawford, and when he fel, he cried, *Wea worth England*. There were eight of the Enemies slain at that Engagement, and six prisoners taken and many wounded.

"After this our Army marched 2 miles further, and drew forth a new Rear guard of Col. *Rich* his Regiment; and the Enemy, to regain the honor lost by the first party of the Scots, advanced with a considerable party of English Horse, commanded by the Duke of *Buckingham* and Major General *Massey*, and, as some say, the King of Scots was present with his Life Guard. Our Rear Guard charged them, and had the same success as formerly, kild and took the same number of men, and after that we heard no more of the Enemy; 4 of which that were taken, were English of the Duke of *Buckingham's* troop.

"We marched to *Knotsford Heath*, being a convenient place for our Horse to ingage, expecting the enemy would have advanced thither; but the van of their army came that night about 5 or 6 miles on this side *Warrington*. We lost but 4 men, and one taken who ingaged too far in the pursuit.

"The enemy useth his uttermost endeavours to engage our forces in this County, where there is so much enclosed grounds, but especially because they dread the comming up of my Lord Generall with the Foot, and our men also here are as forward to engage the enemy, but the consideration of the great advantage we have by amusing and retarding the enemy in his march, till my Lord Generall get up, and considering that the inclosed grounds in Cheshire are very inconvenient for Horse to engage in, it is conceived best to continue in the present posture of Flanking and Fronting the Enemy, till we have a conjunction with other forces, unless they press hard and force an Engagement, and then (God willing) our Forces are resolved in some open plain to fight them, we having 9000 Horse and Dragoons, and between 3 or 4000 foot to give them Battell.

"The Enemy still hovers about *Northwich*, not knowing what course to take, being without peradventure put to new Counsels by reason they see that by their delay in Lancashire they have lost their friends in the South, and that not one County in England, notwithstanding their march so far, appeares in the least kinde for them, but every County raises Forces against them.

"The Earl of *Derby* after all the great noise is landed with 250 Foot and 60 Horse unarmed, as our best intelligence doth certifie.

"By the enemies last motion being from *Northwich* onward between *Namptwich* and *Chester*, it seems as though they intended for *North Wales*, but by all that we can understand they seem to be at a great loss in their Councels what way to take. Col. *Birch*, Governor of *Liverpool*, intends to take a speedy course with those landed with the Earl of Derby."

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*Several Proceedings in Parliament from Thursday, the* 21 *of August, to Thursday, the* 28 *day of August,* 1651. No. 100, page 1534.

*Thursday*, 21 *August*, 1651.

"A Letter from the Gouvernour of *Liverpoole* informes what a molehill that mountain, the Earle of *Derby* and his forces from the *Isle of Man*, doth prove, that is to say, 60 poore horse and 250 foot.

"The Major. Gen. quartered the 20 day at Uttoxeter.

"Right Honourable,

"We being now nearest the Enemy, take ourselves obliged to give you this accompt of the motion. The last night they were incamped upon Blore Heath, in this County, not farre from Dreyton, amongst whom we sent a souldier the last night, who had a view of them, being near their King's tent there; we had also a Gentleman this morning who had a view of their march yesterday.

"They have betwixt 5000 and 6000 weak Horse, and some 6 or 7000 very sickly Foot. *We hear further that on Sunday night*[1] *last my Lord of Derby came up to them, who brought with him some* 60 *Horse, most Gentlemen, and returned back towards Lancashire, where he has left some* 200 *Foot to raise more.*

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[1] This would be Sunday, August 17. This letter to the Speaker has neither signature nor date, but appears to be a joint communication from Majors-General Lambert and Harrison, and it should be compared with the extract from Burnet in p. 293.

"This day we have an account that they are moved with their body to Newport, where we suppose their head quarters will be this night. We shal to the utmost of our abilities endevour in all things to approve ourselves

"Your Honour's faithfull
"and most humble servants."

*Blakeway's Shrewsbury* (vol. i. p. 467) continues the march of the Royal Army, thus diverted, by Drayton, Newport and Long Norton, to Shrewsbury, adding the Royal Summons to Col. Mackworth, the Governor thereof, and his reply to "*the Commander in Chief of the Scottish Army.*" On the 22nd of August the King reached WORCESTER, where Cromwell routed him on Sept. 3.

In Burnet's *Memoires of the Dukes of Hamilton*, will also be found much relative to the subjects of the successive irruptions of Hamilton in 1648, and Charles II in 1651. His account of the Duke's march from Carlisle to Uttoxeter, in particular, will be found to possess great interest, but is avowed to be merely a composition from "divers relations of very worthy gentlemen," and not to be taken from possible notes of the Duke, which, if written, were destroyed or fell into the enemy's hands.

In the account of the skirmish at Warrington on August 16, 1651 (edit. 1677, p. 427) the Duke of Hamilton is stated to have pressed a "march streight to London," conformably with the wish of the army and the apprehensions of Lambert, who had taken the London road; "but the English nobility and gentry who were in the army, and the EARL OF DERBY, *who with many gentlemen came to the army that night*, gave many reasons against that march."

The interview of the Earl with Charles in *Cheshire*, must therefore be fixed for Aug. 17th, according to the preceding letter, or Aug. 16th, according to Burnet's statement, as the reader prefers.

# Chapter XV.

LANDING OF THE EARL OF DERBY IN LANCASHIRE—DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN HIM AND THE PRESBYTERIAN LEADERS—HIS INTERVIEW WITH CHARLES IN CHESHIRE, WHO SENDS HIM BACK TO LANCASHIRE—LILBURN'S VICTORY AT WIGAN—DEATH OF TYLDESLEY—ESCAPE OF DERBY TO THE ROYAL HEAD-QUARTERS AT WORCESTER—DISPERSION OF THE KING'S ARMY, AND SUCCESSIVE DISCOMFITURES OF THE SCOTS IN THEIR FLIGHT THROUGH LANCASHIRE.

THE documents cited previously (p. 285), left Derby on the point of embarkation. Clarendon (Hist. Great Rebellion, vol. vi. 496, edit. 1826), writing of the King's march through Lancashire, says, "*In Lancashire*, the Earl of Derby met him;" then proceeds to mention its being advised "unfortunately that the Earl of Derby, &c., should return into Lancashire, in order to raise the well-affected in those two counties of Lancashire and Cheshire," and adds, "the Earl had *a body of near two hundred horse, consisting for the most part of Officers and Gentlemen*, which deprived the army of a strength they wanted."

Seacome (original edit. p. 129) states, that the Earl being called to meet Charles II in Lancashire, with full assurance that *not only his own party, but the presbytery* would join him in order to his Majesty's Restoration in England, hastened over, bringing with him above three hundred Gallant Gentlemen, who had sojourned with him in the Isle of Man. He adds that the King had passed through Lancashire *three days* before his arrival, but left General Massey to receive him.

The preceding Tract describes the King's passage through Warrington on *Aug.* 16, and a document given in page 292 seems to fix Derby's *landing* in Lancashire *on the same day*. Seacome states that he hasted to Warrington, where that very night the Major-General Massey brought in many of the Presbyterian party to his Lordship,[1] who made the taking the Covenant and removal of Papists essential to their joining him; that the Earl declined the proposal, adding that he had *men* enough, "but all the *arms* are in your possession, without which, I shall only lead naked men to slaughter; however, I am determined to do what I can with the handful of Gentlemen now with me for his Majesty's service, and if I perish, I perish, but if my Master suffer, the blood of another Prince, and all the ensuing miseries of this nation, will lie at your doors:" upon which his Lordship took horse, having with him only the worthy gentlemen that came from the Isle of Man, and some few of the Royal Party that were come in to him. (Seacome, pp. 129-130, original edit.)

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[1] Compare the similar discussions between the King, Gen. Massey, and the Ministers in the Royal Army, as given by *Clarendon*, vi. 496; and the forebodings of Lesley as to the feelings of the Scottish troops, when marching towards Worcester, ib. 498.

Leaving it to the reader to fix the Earl's interview with Charles in Cheshire on August 16th or 17th, as he may prefer the authority of the letter already cited or that of Burnet, his disembarkation in Wyer Water would most probably take place on the morning of the king's passing into Cheshire. If it had been earlier, the meeting would have been in Lancashire. On the Earl's return to Lancashire, it would be clear of enemies, excepting Parliamentary garrisons. Lambert had followed the king southwards, and Lilborne had not yet reached the Yorkshire border.

On the 19th, Massey informs Lord Derby (by letter from Cadishead in Eccles) that he was kept in check by Lilborne's Horse advancing from the north upon Middleton, but that he and Col. Ashurst would still meet "those gentlemen," and presses Lord D. to attack the wearied Parliamentarian Cavalry, whom he (Massey) would not allow to pass Manchester, if it were not for the long march he should have to take in following the King. (Cary's Memorials, p. 325.)

The next view of Lilburne's and Birch's movements, is given by the *Perfect Diurnal*, No. 90, p. 1428, Sept. 1.

"Massey was left with the Earl of Derby in Lancashire, but upon approach of some of our Horse, he is marcht away, and joined with the army, having with him not above fifty Horse."

"The enemy stayed but three nights in Cheshire, and they marcht toward Worcester. Col. *Lilborne*, with his Regiment, quartered at *Prescot* on Thursday night, and the same night the Earl of *Derby* was at Crineschurch,[1] but seven miles from Col. *Lilborne's* quarters, and on Friday 300 good Foot marched out of *Chester* and all the Foot that could be raised in Liverpool or those parts of *Lancaster*, to joyn with Col. *Lilborn's* Horse, to set on my Lord; and likewise all the shipping wafted out of the River of *Liverpool*, and set saile with a faire winde for *Wyerwater*, the place where the Frigots rid, that brought the Lord over with his company to surprize them, and prevent his Lordship from escaping away by water. Two of their best Frigots being split already, in running so neare the shore to land their Horses, so that if he be alive its very probable he is a prisoner before this.

*Cary's Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 333. A letter from Lord Derby's Secretary to Col. Ashurst (Aug. 22), informs him that the approach of the enemy said to be *Lilburne*, to *Wigan*, had prevented circulation of letters. The Earl's Address "to the Gentlemen of Lancashire," subjoined to this letter, mentions his interview with

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[1] An error of the press for Ormskirk.

Charles in *Cheshire*, the King's wish for Massey's mediation, and the Earl's own wish (as Massey and the King had both advanced southwards), that HE might be enabled to arrange matters by mutual forgiveness, and by such a *reasonable measure of satisfaction to moderate and just desires*, as would leave those without excuse who did not engage with him in the present service.

The *following Tracts* relate to the eventful BATTLE OF AUGUST XXV.

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## LII.

*A Great Victory by the Blessing of God obtained by the Parliament's forces against the Scots forces, commanded by the Earl of Derby, on the* 25 *of August* 1651, *near Wiggon in Lancashire, certifyed by a letter from Col. Lilburne and two letters from Chester, also a Letter from Col. Birche to Mr. Speaker. Imp.* HEN. SCOBEL, *Cler. Par.*

1500 Totally Routed.
Earl of *Derby* wounded and pursued towards *Bolton.*
L. Widdrington mortally wounded and taken prisoner.
400 Prisoners taken, amongst which many Officers and Gentlemen of note.

SLAINE.

3 Knights and divers Collonels and other considerable Officers and Gentlemen.
With a list of the Chief particulars of the Victory.
*Imprimatur* HEN. SCOBEL, *Cleric Parliamenti.*
*London*, printed for *Robert Ibbetson* dwelling in Smithfield neare Hosier Lane end (MS. date Aug. 29.)

1. A Letter from Col. Thomas Birche to the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esq. Speaker of the Parliament of the Common Wealth of England.

Sir,

It pleased the Lord yesterday to give an utter overthrow by

Col. *Lilburnes* Regiment of Horse to the Earle of *Derbie,* who was raising men here in this County for the *Scots* King. The Earl at his comming over from the Isle of Man, brought but 300 men, whereof 60 were horse, but landing about the middle of the shire when the *Scots* army were passing out of it, he had the better opportunity by our distractions to march up to *Warrington* to them, and there he had the assistance of Major-General *Massey* with a regiment of Horse to countenance his proceedings, while he gathered more to him, who afterwards leaving him when the Earl's forces were reputed considerable to carry on the worke, and there being none in this County left competent to make opposition, but all marched out with the army; I sent both to my Lord Generall and the Major-Generalls, to acquaint them with it, whereupon Col. *Lilburne* came very opportunely, yet the enemy being stronger in foote and securing himselfe betwixt two rivers, he was not to be attempted by Horse only, and all that could be afforded in assistance were two foot companies from *Chester,* one of my Regiment left about *Manchester,* not being so ready as the rest to march out, and what musketeers I horsed from hence with some few countrymen. But since my Lord General's owne Regiment of foote being sent up, and within one dayes march, the enemy attempted towards the *Scots* army, and being pursued by Col. *Lilburnes* Regiment and the small addition before named, without the conjunction of my Lord Generall's Regiment, it pleased God to give them an absolute overthrow, as the inclosed from Col. *Lilburne* intimates; the number of prisoners and the slaine with their qualifications I cannot yet give further account of, but I hope the successe prevents all designs in these parts. I must excuse for this distracted letter, and ever am, Sir,

Your most reall and humble servant

*Liverpoole,* Aug. 26, 1651. THO. BIRCHE.

For the Right Honourable Will. Lenthall, Esq. Speaker of the Parliament of the Common Wealthe of England, at Westminster, these present.

Honoured Sir,

The Lord hath been pleased this day to appear for us, in the total rout and overthrow of the Lord of *Derby* and his forces, which was increased to about 1500; he himself, though wounded, escaped, though narrowly. I would only intreat you to send out what Horse you have, or can get to ride up and downe the Country to gather up straglers: I cannot enlarge myselfe at present, but I entreat you to accept of this from him that desires to express himselfe

Your very humble servant,

*Wiggan*, 25 Aug. 1651. ROBERT LILBURNE.

Your Ammunition is come safe.

The Lord of *Derby* I heare is fled towards *Bolton*, but his sumptures and treasures are here. We intended for *Manchester* this night, and had hopes to take my Lord Gen. Regiment of foot, and to have had five hundred men in readinesse to join with them. The Lord *Witherington* cannot live long, Colonel *Boynton* and *Tildesley* are slaine, and others very considerable. I have divers Colonells prisoners.

For my honoured friend Coll. *Birche*, Governour of *Liverpoole*, these.

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*A letter from Chester.*

Sir,

The last night within three miles of *Wigan*, your forces engaged the Earl of *Derby*, and put them to a perfect rout, about 400 prisoners taken.

The Lord *Widdrington* mortally wounded, Sir *Francis Gamul*,[1]

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[1] See correction of the statement respecting Sir. F. Gamul in p. 306.

Colonel *Tildesley*, Col. *Throgmorton*, Col. *Trollop* and *Galliard* and divers others of quality are slain.

About a Clock this day the Countrymen brought in about ten stubborn resolute Gentlemen of the scattered party. Whither the Earl is fled is doubtful, but it's certain he is wounded, and of 1500 men, not any left to engage.

*Chester*, 26 August 1651.

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*Another letter from Chester.*

Honoured Sir,

I could not but let you know what an earnest the Lord hath given us of what undoubtedly he will do in a far larger manner. Yesterday about 3 of the Clocke the Forces that were under Col. *Lilburne*, with 200 from this Garrison, fell upon the Earle of *Derby* near *Wiggan* in Lancashire, who had gotten about 1500 together. The dispute was hot for near an hour, but then the Lord decided the Controversie, and the Earl's Forces totally routed, the Earl himself wounded, but escaped, the Lord *Widdrington* mortally wounded, Sir *Tho. Tildesley*, Sir *Wil. Throgmorton*, Sir *Fran. Gamull*, Col. *Boynton*, Col. *Trollop*, Lieut.-Col. *Galliard*, and many others of quality slaine, 400 prisoners taken, whereof many of them were Officers and Gentlemen. We were not half their number, and scarce halfe of them could come up to charge, but the Lord hath wonderfully made known his power, and I am confident will go on to perfect his great work. We lost no Officer that we yet hear of, and not above 10 or 12 in all. Let God have all the glory.

*Chester*, 26 Aug. 1651. Jo. Whitworth.

*A list of the cheife particulars of the Victory.*

1500 totally routed.

Earl of *Derby* wounded and pursued towards *Bolton*.

Lord *Widdrington* mortally wounded and taken prisoner.

400 Prisoners taken, amongst which many Officers and persons of note.

*Who were slaine.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Sir Thomas Tildesley | Col. Trollop |
| Sir William Throgmorton | Lieut.-Col. Galliard |
| Sir Francis Gamul | and divers others. |
| Col. Boynton | |

29 Aug. 1651.

Imprimatur
HEN. SCOBEL, *Cleric. Parliamenti.*

## LIII.

*Two Letters from Col. Robert Lilburne, the one to the Honourable William Lenthall, Esq., Speaker of the Parliament, the other to his Excellency the Lord Generall, containing the particulars of the totall Rout and Overthrow of the Earl of Derby, and the Forces under his command, in Lancashire, on the 25th of August,* 1651. *By the Parliament forces under the said Colonel Robert Lilburne.*
*Imprimatur* HEN. SCOBEL, *Cleric. Parliamenti.*

*London:* Printed for *Robert Ibbitson*, dwelling in Smithfield, neare Hosier Lane-end, 1651. (MS. date Aug. 30.[1])

Mr. Speaker,

MY Lord Generall being pleased to command me to stay here to assist the well-affected against the Lord *Derby*, who was then at *Warrington* in this County, with some considerable force both from the *Isle of Man*, and which he had from the *Scots* army, wherewith he did not only much encourage the Enemies, but also discourage all the well-affected in these Counties of *Lancashire* and *Cheshire*, and whereof he thought himselfe wholly Master (as indeede he was), and none in those Counties were able, or durst appear against him;

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[1] Copies of these letters, in modern orthography, without the particular addresses and the results of the victory, were printed in Cary's *Memorials* (vol. ii. pp. 338-345), from the originals in the Bodleian Library, after this work was prepared for the press. The variations between these copies and the letters, as printed in the Tracts, are few and unimportant.

and began to beate Drums, and raise men in all places where he came, and would have been very strong in a short time, not only through the accesse of many Malignants, Papists, and disaffected Persons, but that assistance the Ministers and those who are called Presbyterians afforded, and would more abundantly have appeared, for they are the men who are grown here more bitter and envious against you than others of the old Cavaliers stamp; the power of the Almighty was very much seene in the total overthrow (I hope) of that wicked designe which was laid and hatched not only here, but through the whole North of *England*, which was getting into the like posture, as you may further understand by those papers I have here sent you; but that God who hath all along appeared with us and for us, hath shewed himself very good, and powerful in the discipating of this Enemy, who was about fourteen to fifteen hundred strong; I had only three companies of Foot, about fifty or sixty Dragoons, and about thirty Horse from *Liverpoole*, with my own wearied and somewhat scattered Regiment through our tedious March from *Scotland*, and hard duty we had here.

Yesterday morning, about eleven or twelve a clock in the night, the Enemy marched from *Preston*, we lying within two or three miles of them, where we expected those supplyes of Forces which came not, some of our intelligence informing us the Enemy were running away towards their army with what they had gotten; we pursued them hither with some confidence, that that intelligence was true, and the rather we believed it because of some discouragement we put upon them the day before; but upon our approach hither we found it otherwise, for they were bending their course towards Manchester, where they had not only very great hopes of surprising my Lord Generall's Regiment of Foot, but also assurance of the assistance of five hundred men in and about that Towne, but, upon the sight of our near approach, they unexpectedly put themselves in a posture of fighting with us, which then we endeavoured to decline, in regard to the very great advantage they had by their many Foote and Hedges, and the danger we apprehended my Lord Generall's Regiment of Foot at *Manchester* to be in, we were drawing off, thinking to have marched in the left flanke of them thither, to have gained a conjunction with our Friends, who too, had order to march that day to me to Preston; we had thought to have met them on the way, having sent severall messengers to let them know both the Enemies and our motion, but the enemy perceiving us to draw off, quickly advanced upon us with their Horse and Foot, which we perceiving, and that we could not goe off safely enough, we fell to dispute with them, which lasted almost one houre; our horse being not able to doe any service but in Lanes, and they overpowering us so much in Foot, made the businesse very difficult that we hardly knew whose the day would be for so long; but therein was the Salvation of God the more seen, and the greater opportunity we had to destroy them. I desire that he may have the praise and glory of that happy successe he was pleased to give unto his poor creatures. Having given you this narrative in general, which I thought it my duty to doe, this inclosed list will inform you further of the particulars. I desire the Lord would teach us to walke in some way answerable to those manifold and gracious Dispensations he daily gives us experience of, and manifests his love to us, in that, His name may be magnified in all we doe in our severall places and stations; this great mercie to us here I hope is the earnest of his further tendernesse to the great concernment of all good people in this Nation, which is the hearty desire of

Your faithfull and most humble Servant to my power,
ROB. LILBURNE.

This Bearer was all the while in the Engagement, and is able to give you a further Relation.

I have not lost an Officer in this Engagement, but one Corporal, and not above ten souldiers slaine, but very many wounded.

Present these
To the Right Honourable *William Lenthall*, Esq., Speaker of the Parliament of the Common Wealth of *England*.—Haste.

A List of the Prisoners taken at *Wiggan*, August 25th, 1651.

Col. Throgmorton
Col. Rich. Leg
Col. John Robbinson
Col. Baynes
Col. Ratcliffe Gerret
Adjutant General
Lieut-Col. Creson Rigby
Lieut-Col. Francis Baynes
Lieut-Col. Galliard
Lieut-Col. Constable
Major Gower
Four Captains, 2 Lieutenants
One Quarter-master
Twenty Gentlemen and Reformadoes
400 Private Prisoners

All their Baggage and Sumptures, Armes and Ammunition, the L. Derbies three Cloakes with Stars, his George, Garter, and other Robes.

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Slaine and dead since they were taken.

The L. Witherington
Major-Gen. Sir Tho. Tilsley
Col. Math. Boynton
Major Chester
Major Trollop, and divers others of quality, whose names are not yet brought in, besides 60 private men

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May it please your Excellency,

Upon the receipt of your Orders to stay here with my Regiment, I marched that day from *Stopport* to this town, which was 22 miles, before I rested; hearing the Enemy was here, and thinking I might have a little surprized them, but they were gone to Chorley. The next day I marched after them towards *Preston*, and lay within two miles of them onely with my own Regiment, and about 60 Horse and Dragoons, which is all the Country could assist me with all this while (saving onely one Company from *Manchester* of Foote, and two from *Chester*, which have been with me two days. That night I sent 40 Horse to alarm them (who then wounded Col. Vere) hearing they were to have a Rendezvous at Preston the next day. I did that to give notice to the Town and Country I was there to oppose the Earle, and to stay the people from rising with him, who reported it, that none of our Forces was in that Country, and made the Country beleeve all was their owne, which the people generally tooke for granted, and was comming in apace, as by these inclosed you may perceive.

The next day, in the afternoone, I having not foot with me, a party of the Enemies Horse fell smartly amongst us where our Horses were grasing, and for some space put us pretty hard to it; but at last it pleased the Lord to strengthen us so as that we put them to the flight, and pursued them to *Ribble-bridge*, (this was something like our businesse at *Mussleburgh*) and kild and took about 30 prisoners, most Officers and Gentlemen, with the loss of two men that dyed next morning; but severall wounded, and divers of our good Horses killed. That night came three Companies of Foot, and the next morning hearing of your Excellencies Regiment cumming towards *Manchester*, I only removed two miles to a more convenient ground, thinking to have staied there till your Regiment could come, which I expected this day, but their weariness frustrated that expectation, and this morning I had intelligence that the Enemy was upon their march, which I thought was a running away from us, being they began at 11 in the night, and marched so fast and privately, but their confidence was much otherwise raised, having increased their number at *Preston*, and that ingagement of the *Priests* and *Manchesterians* (who are very malignant) to assist them with 500 men and Armes, and the hopes that they had of surprizing your Excellencies Regiment, put them into great heart, that when we appeared here (thinking we had been, as it were, pursuing a flying Enemy), they shewed a great deale of courage by a mighty shout they gave beyond the Towne in sight of us, in the way towards *Manchester*, which we observing, together with the advantage which they had of us in these grounds, and hearing their number of foot was much increased, and the danger your Regiment was in, put us upon new thoughts when they were at one end of the Town, and we at the other, and resolved rather to decline engaging with them here than hazard the loss of your Regiment, and put ourselves upon an Engagement upon too much disadvantage, they exceeding us much in Foot, and we having no grounds to fight our Horse upon, we were drawing off, thinking to have marched in the Flanke of them towards Manchester, to have gained a conjunction with our friends there; but they seeing it, presently drew through the towne to fall upon us, which we observing, and being so neere to them, resolved to trust God with the issue; and he was graciously pleased to give us a comfortable successe to the praise of His great name, in a totall rout of our Enemies, who were increased to about 14 or 1500, and I had only my own Regiment, and those three companies of foot, and the sixty Horse and Dragoones. The dispute lasted almost an Houre, and very difficult to us, they overlaying us so with Foot (not have ground for our Horse, but the laine to fight in) the same place where my Regiment beate up Hambleton's Reare; but at last God gave us the day, and I desire that He alone may have the praise for that great Salvation he shewed to us, a Company of poore creatures.

As for the Particulars, I cannot yet give a very exact account to your Excellency, but onely that the Lord *Derby* is sore hurt, but escaped, though narrowly; the Lord *Widdrington*, and Col. Sir *William Throgmorton* dying; and *Tildesley* and *Boynton* slain, and several other very considerable persons of great quality, and about sixty souldiers, and we have taken most of their Colours, and about 400 prisoners.[1]

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[1] The statement of this affair as given by Seacome (p. 131) is, that Derby, after leaving the Presbyterian delegates at Warrington (*see* p. 295), issued out warrants at Preston, and mustered six hundred horse, with which he marched to Wigan to meet Lilburn, who had eighteen hundred dragoons, and had formed a junction at Manchester with the infantry of the militias of Lancashire and Cheshire, making altogether three thousand.

The Earl's advance (on Aug. 25) is said to have been retarded by the musqueteers who lined the hedges, but at last two charges were made by him, which were said to have cut through the enemy. In a third, Lord Widdrington and Sir Thomas Tyldesley were slain, and one half of the six hundred Royalists having fallen, Lord Derby with difficulty cut through the enemy, and obtained concealment in Wigan until his escape was secured.

The first shelter in his flight (Hughes's *Diary*, *Boscobel Tracts*, p. 28) was given by a Royalist family near Newport, on the edge of Shropshire and Staffordshire, and his subsequent concealment afforded by the House of Boscobel, where he remained two days, and on the night of the 31st " set off with the impatience of a gallant spirit to

I thank God I lost not one Officer, nor above ten Souldiers that I can hear of, but many Horses kild, and spoiled with their pikes,

join the King at Worcester, where he arrived just on the eve of the approaching battle."

The close of his history is the subject of the next Chapter.

Tyldesley, who (as appears by a subsequent document) was to have acted as the Earl's second in command, if the King's expedition had succeeded, and who occupies so distinguished a place in the preceding pages, was noticed in p. 275, as conducting the retreat of Duke Hamilton's Lancashire auxiliaries to the time of their surrender at Appleby. Clarendon mentions his *subsequent* services in Ireland under Ormond, and his passing to Scotland shortly before Charles's movement into England ; and from a document mentioned hereafter, it appears that he was communicating with Derby's friends on the King's behalf in Lancashire, when a discovery took place, and he fled to Man. In this island he last occurred (previous to his final reappearance in Lancashire) as directing the preparations for Derby's expedition to England. See p. 285.

There is an unintelligible and very inaccurate passage in Lloyd's *Memoires*, p. 692, respecting Tyldesley being buried in one grave with Sir Francis Gamul, who certainly survived to 1654, although included by error among the slain in the first account of Wigan fight. The same statement is inaccurate also as to Tyldesley. After his heroic death in the battle-field, and his escape thereby from the scaffold, this last named officer was interred in the north chancel of the church of Leigh, appendant to his ancient mansion of Morleys, where the Earl of Derby, seven weeks afterwards, in his way to execution at Bolton, made an unavailing request to visit his grave.

Tyldesley is honourably commemorated by Clarendon, and the long series of his exploits, enumerated in the Index, proves that he deserved such remembrance. Another memorial (of a more solid, but less durable description, than Clarendon's praise) is the Pillar in Wigan Lane, erected by his "grateful cornet, Alexander Rigby."

Considering the adverse zeal of Tyldesley, the ruling powers may be said to have dealt gently with him. He was thrice prisoner, but always at liberty and in arms again; and no forfeiture is known to have followed his decease, at least so far as related to his estates in Astley and Tyldesley, the latter of which passed by sale to the Editor's family (after intermediate alienations) in the early part of the last century. A fine portrait of General Tyldesley is given in Baines's *Lancashire*, from an original painting at Hulton Hall.

Edward Tyldesley, son of the Royalist, had for his reward a place in the list of the intended Knights of the Royal Oak. In 1715, Edward Tyldesley, of the Lodge, was in arms at Preston, and (according to the report of the trial in the *Historical Register*) escaped solely by the favour of the jury. Several documents remain among the depositions in the Tower in 1716, relative to this Edward, and to his aunt the Lady Abbess Tyldesley, presiding over a "rich Augustine nunnery at Paris," and the patroness of him and his political friends. The last notice of any known male descendant of Sir Thomas that has occurred, is a local tradition of James Tyldesley riding into Leigh, at the head of some of Prince Charles's adherents in the irruption of 1745.

which I hope your Excellency will be pleased to consider and repaire. The Country now begins to bringe in Prisoners, and to shew themselves to mee, but before but a few appeared. The Enemies word was Jesu, and their signal a White about their Arme, our word was Providence, and signal Greens. I am (my Lord)

Your Excellencies
*Wiggan*, 25 *Aug.* 1651, Most humble Servant,
late in the Evening. Rob. Lilburne.

30 Aug. 1651, Imprimatur
Hen. Scobel, *Cleric Parliamenti.*

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## LIV.

*Another Victory in Lancashire obtained against the Scots by Major-General Harrison & Collonel Lilburn, with the taking of Lieut.-Gen. David Lesley, Maj. Gen. Middleton & other eminent officers and Commanders with* 600 *private soldiers, horse and arms, & a list of the particulars. Also the death of Maj. Gen. Massey and Duke Hamilton, and the Scots King going with Hind the great Robber. Together with the manner of my Lord Generall Cromwell's coming, and noble reception by the City of London, and an account of the Scots Prisoners which marched through the City on Saturday last.*

London: Printed by *B. A.* MDCLI.

[The Commencement of the Tract relates to the procession of the Members of Parliament and others to meet Cromwell,—his triumphant entry into London, on returning from Worcester,—the disposal of the Scots prisoners on Hampstead Heath, and the subsequent parading of them through the City and Westminster, as prisoners at mercy, but as objects that met with great commiseration and charity.]

* * * * * * *

Major-General *Harrison*, Col. *Lilburn*, Lieut. Gen. *Fleetwood* and most of my Lord General's Horse are active in gathering up of such as escaped at the fight and are dispersed; the Maj. Gen.[1] is advanced after a party of the enemies horse, with whom were *Middleton* and *David Lesly* which went towards *Lancashire:* and you are to observe this by the way, that much about the same time that my Lord Gen. came to *London,* viz. on Fryday about 5 of the Clock,[2] there came Letters which advertized that Lieut. Gen. *Lesley,*[3] Maj. Gen. *Middleton,* with many other officers of note, and about 600 private soldiers are taken prisoners at a town called *Middleton* in *Lancashire;* it is also reported that D. *Hambleton* and *Massey,* who were taken prisoners, are dead, but I leave the certainty thereof to further relations.[4]

We also understand that the town of *Middleton*[5] (which proves fatal to him of that name) is on the further part of all *Lancashire,* toward the sea, and if the enemy had had any time to stay without being pursued, it's likely they had some hopes of getting over into the Isle of Man. These are those Scots that were at Sandbatch about a week since, and killed 6 or 7 of the country people, which caused the rest to rise.[6]

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[1] Major Gen. Harrison's own letter from *Preston* to the speaker (Sept. 7), preserved among the Tanner MSS. Bodl. Lib. Oxford, is printed in Cary's *Memorials,* ii. 378, and is, of course, antecedent in date to the success here mentioned, which he then anticipated.

[2] Friday, Sept. 12.

[3] Clarendon (vi. 514, ed. 1826) says that Lesley reached *Yorkshire* with above fifteen hundred horse in a body, which were probably those mentioned in Harrison's letter,—namely, "the greatest body that is left of the enemy, being about one thousand, turned off some way towards Yorkshire." It does not appear what route Lesley took thence across Lancashire.

[4] Duke Hamilton died of his wounds at Worcester, and Massey was *erroneously supposed* to be on his death-bed. He was prisoner at Groby in Leicestershire, and "the Declaration of General Massey on his Death-bed at Leicester," was published in a Tract so entitled. (King's Tracts, Brit. Mus. 507-15.)

[5] Middleton lies about four miles S. W. of Lancaster, on the edge of Morecambe Bay.

[6] The Scottish horse commanded by Lesley, in the close of the evening of the day of Worcester fight, after little participation of the labours of that day, took "the more direct way northwards by Newport, his Majesty being only left attended" by some noblemen and gentlemen, "in all about sixty horse." (*Boscobel Tracts,* p. 190.) In

There is now taken a tall young gentleman,[1] which there was some thoughts at first to be the *Scots* King, but it proves otherways. Since the escape of this party of *Scots* northwards, we hear that Sir *William Hart* and others of quality are taken, besides those before spoken of, and near 20 that were taken prisoners at their coming over *Warrington* Bridge,[2] and carried to *Chester*, are already tried by a Council of war, and have received (at the least) sentence to be shot to death.

And truly there is great cause that we should blesse God, and sing aloud of his praises for the great and seasonable deliverance we have now had in making bare his glorious arm against such as had lifted up their hands, and decreed amongst themselves against the lives and estates of us and our children. Let us therefore be ever mindful of his works, and the wondrous things which he hath done for us.

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this number was included the EARL OF DERBY, who delivered his Sovereign to his own former protector, William Penderel, at Boscobel, with the charge, "This is the KING. Thou must have a care of Him, and preserve Him, as thou didst me." Mr. Hughes (p. 36) observes that the Scots were only to be kept to their ranks "by a retrograde movement." According to *Merc. Politic.* (No. 66, p. 1059) they were at Sandbach at three o'clock in the afternoon of the day after the battle, described to be at least forty miles distant, but really distant about eighty miles by any *road*, and upwards of seventy miles *direct.* The Sandbach affair is given in *Hist. Chesh.* iii. 60.

[1] The Tract cited above (note [4], p. 308) appears to allude to this "*young gentleman*," in an inaccurate statement as to Charles II (described as Captain General of the Scots) being constrained to force his way at Didsbury, near Manchester, when accompanying the retreat, "through the midst of forty clubmen, who laid at him with their clubs, and yet could not bring him to the dust." This young man is mentioned in many documents, and the mistake respecting him may have aided in some degree the confusion respecting Charles's line of flight. In some tracts he is identified with Sir William Hart, here mentioned as a distinct person. The latter (*Lloyd's Memoirs*, p. 699) is described as a person "cut out by nature for superiority and command, being, like Saul, taller by the head and shoulders than his brethren."

[2] There is some confusion in this statement, which, however, appears to relate to captives taken in the *advance* of the Scots. In the *retreat* they passed, to the amount of five hundred, "at Hollin Ferry, *near* Warrington, the *bridge* being kept against them." (Harrison's Letter of Sept. 7, cited above.) Part of these were taken near Bolton le Moors,—and others, including the Earl of Kenmore and Col. Hume, nearer Lancaster.—Cary's *Memorials*, ii. 374.

### A list of Prisoners Horse and Arms taken.

Lieut. Gen. David Lesley
Maj. Gen. Middleton
Sir William Hart
Col. Hutrey
Col. Flower
C. Montgomery
Cap. Middleton
M. Graham
M. Beckwith
C. Kieth
Cap. Monro
Cap. Butlar
Cap. Mackey
Cap. Blaire

And many other Cols. Maj. and other chief Officers, which had escaped, and lost their men at the fight at Worcester,

30 Lieutenants & Cornets
40 Quartermasters
20 Corporals
500 and odde private souldiers
600 Arms, and many Portmantels and good Booty.

# Chapter XVI.

## CAPTURE, IMPRISONMENT, TRIAL, AND EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF DERBY, AUGUST—OCTOBER MDCLI.

THE particulars of the escape of the Earl of Derby after Wigan fight, his concealment at Boscobel, his successful efforts to join Charles II (whilst yet suffering from recent wounds) on the eve of the Battle of Worcester, and his flight from thence in company with that Monarch, whom he assisted in obtaining refuge at his own previous place of concealment, with the Earl's subsequent surrender to Captain Edge, under alleged quarter for life, will be found in Hughes's *Boscobel Tracts,* and in the extracts from the *Derby MSS.* given by Peck, Collins, and Seacome. Clarendon, also, will be found more copious on these points, than on most others connected with Lord Derby or Lancashire.[1]

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[1] The *Earl's own account* of his capture is contained in his first letter to his wife from Chester Castle. "I escaped a great danger at Wigan, but met with a worse at Worcester, being not so fortunate to meet any that would kill me, and thereby have put me out of the reach of envy and malice. Lord Lautherdale and I having escaped, hired horses, and falling into the enemies hands, were not thought worth killing, but have quarter given us by one Captain *Edge,* a *Lancashire* man, and one that was so civil to me, that I and all that love me are beholden to him."—*Seacome,* 133.

The story is thus told in the *Memoirs* of Captain Hodson of Coley, present on the occasion, the place being the road about half a mile south of Nantwich: "They [the party of Scots] were by computation about five or six hundred men, and our musqueteers would have gone into the lane, and taken by the bridle the best like person they saw, and brought him out without a stroke, so low was the *Scot* brought. But the most remarkable thing was, one *Oliver Edge,* one of our captains, had a mind to see what became of the forlorn, hearing such a great firing; and viewing them very busy, he spies a party of horse behind him in the fields, and having no order to be there, he retreats towards the regiment, but they called upon him and asked if he was an officer; and drawing towards them about eighteen or twenty horsemen lighted, and told him they would surrender themselves prisoners; there was the *Earl* of *Derby,* the *Earl* of *Lauderdale, Sinclair,* and a fourth. These became prisoners to one single captain; but

The trial of the Earl by a Court-Martial at Chester, took place on October 1, the particulars of which are given in a Tract especially devoted to that subject, and reprinted in Somers's *Collection*, edit. 1811, vol. vi. 143.[1]

Col. Mackworth, of Betton Strange in Shropshire, presided, and with the exception of Colonel Twiselton, Major-General Mitton of Halston, and one or two other Shropshire names among the junior officers, the Members of the Court were almost exclusively Cheshire, and officers of the Regiments of the Militia, embodied on the occasion of Hamilton's Irruption in 1648. The principal of these were, Colonels Duckenfield of Duckenfield, Bradshaw of Marple, and Croxton of Ravenscroft, Lt.-Colonels Birkenhead of Backford, and Alexander Newton. No Lancashire name appears on the list.

The points of the Earl's defence are reduced by Whitelock (*Memorials*, p. 511) *to an allegation that "he had Quarter given him, and, therefore was not to be tried by a Court Martial for life, and to a plea of ignorance of the Acts of Treason set forth by the Parliament.*" Both were overruled, and the Court resolved as follows[2] :—

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the soldiers fell in with him immediately." — *Original Memoirs during the Great Civil War*, 1806, p. 154.

John Maitland, Earl, and afterwards Duke of Lauderdale, here mentioned, and the companion of Derby in his flight and captivity, remained prisoner nine years, until released by Monk at the Restoration. He is distinguished in real history by the horribly eloquent character drawn by Burnet, and in romance as presiding over the torture of the Covenanters in Sir Walter Scott's *Old Mortality*.

[1] "THE PERFECT TRIAL AND CONFESSION of the EARL OF DERBY at a COURT MARTIAL holden at CHESTER the first day of October in the year of our Lord God 1651, by virtue of a commission from his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell, with his speech and plea in defence of his life, delivered at the Bar, and his sentence to be beheaded in the Market Place at BOLTON in Lancashire, on Wednesday next; his letter to his Lady concerning the same and the government of the Island, as also Captain Young's summons and her resolute answer. Likewise the Trial of Sir Timothy Fetherstonhaugh, and his sentence to be beheaded at Chester, and Capt. Benbow to be shot at Shrewsbury. Together with the charge of High Treason against Col. Vaughan, Lt. Col. Jackson, Col. Massey, Dr. Drake, Mr. Case, Mr. Jackson, and Mr. Jenkins. With the Parliament's directions to the High Court of Justice for their Tryal this present Friday." Imprinted at London for George Wharton, 1651, 8 pp. 4to.

[2] The sentence is thus given in the Tract quoted. Whitelocke adds *after* BOLTON,

"1. That James, Earl of Derby, is guilty of the breach of the said Act of the 12th of August last past, entituled 'An Act prohibiting correspondence with Charles Stuart or his party,' and so of High Treason against the Common Wealth of England, and is therefore worthy of death.

"2. Resolved, &c. that the said James, Earl of Derby, is a Traitor to the Common Wealth of England, and an abettor, encourager, and assister of the declared traitors and enemies thereof, and shall be put to death by severing his head from his body at the market place in the town of Boulton, in Lancashire, upon Wednesday, the 15th of this instant October, about the hour of one of the clock of the same day."[1]

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"where he had killed a man in cold blood," meaning Bootle; and many of the journals add something similar, but the Sentence appears to have been as in the Tract mentioned in the preceding note.

The Title of the Act cited in the Sentence is, "Correspondence with *Charles Stuart* or his party prohibited, under pain of High Treason, and to be proceeded against by a Council of War," &c. This Act to continue in force till the first day of December 1651. Passed 12th August.—*Acts of Parl.* 1651, cap. 14, Scobell's edition.

Seacome gives the Earl's Address to the Judges, as urged *by advice*, with a hope that *in a matter of law, the Court would be to him instead of Council in Court.* It ramifies into much collateral argument, but the points are as Whitelock states them.

In the subsequent Petition of the Earl, he will be found to remonstrate against the place of Execution chosen, viz. Bolton, as implying that he was really guilty of the bloodshed there on the occasion of Rupert's assault, whereas such had never been alleged against him on his trial. That such implication was the object of his judges, there can be no doubt, as Benbow, who was sentenced by the same tribunal, was ordered to be shot at Shrewsbury on a similar principle, and was executed in the place where he had once scaled the castle walls in the service of the Parliament, from which he subsequently deserted to Charles II.

[1] In the *Perfect Diurnall* of Oct. 13, and some other papers, mention is made of admissions by the Earl of Derby, as to arrangements made with the Presbyterian party in Lancashire, the *matter* of which is as follows, giving it on the authority stated.

That one Isaac Birkenhead had been the agent of communications between the Earl (when in the Isle of Man), the Presbyterians in the south of England, and the Royalists in Scotland, where Birkenhead was made prisoner. That this arrest induced Sir Thomas Tyldesley and Major Ashhurst instantly to fly from Lancashire to the Isle of Man, prevented the delivery of commissions in that county, and stopped a general rising of the Presbyterians, who were provided with arms and ammunition, and had intended to seize Liverpool.

That the delivery of letters to the Lancashire Presbyterian party signed by the Scots King had been entrusted to General Massey and Major Ashurst, but had failed.

That he himself was designed to be General for the Counties of Lancaster, Chester, Salop, Worcester, Stafford, and all the North Wales counties, Sir Thomas Tildesley

The Earl's plea being thus rejected by the Court, an appeal was made by him to Cromwell as Lord General, and the letter subjoined it given by the contemporary Journalists as a Copy of his application.

To the Right Honourable His Excellency the Lord
Generall Cromwell.

The Humble Petition of James, Earl of Derby, a Sentenced Prisoner in Chester,

Shewing,

That it appeareth by the annexed what plea your Petitioner hath urged for Life, in which the Court Martial here were pleased to overrule him, it being a matter of law, and a point not adjudged nor presidented in all this Warre; and the plea being only capable of Appeale to your Excellency whose wisdom will safely resolve it, and your Petitioner being also a Prisoner to the High Court of Parliament in relation to his rendition of the Isle of Man, in all he most humbly craves your Excellency's Grace, that he may as well obtain your Excellency's judgment on his plea as the Parliament's mercy, with your Excellencies favour to him, and he shall owe his life to your Lordship's service, and ever pray, &c.

Derby.

This application failing, interest of every kind appears to have been pressed. President Bradshaw himself was applied to, through the medium of his brother Col. Henry Bradshaw, of Marple, one of the Earl's judges;[1] and Lenthall was plied by Brideoak (one of the Earl's chaplains, afterwards Bishop of Chichester), "with so much more than ordinary reason and application," that he obtained Lenthall's own Chaplainship, and the Preachership at the Rolls, but failed in obtaining Derby's pardon.[2] Lord Strange also is men-

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being intended for his Major General, and that he had left his Countess in trust for the Isle of Man, with one Master Greenhough to assist her as Governor.

Respecting the letters entrusted to Massey and Ashurst, see p. 295.

[1] *Hist. Chesh.* iii. 410, from the Marple papers.

[2] Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* iv. 859.

tioned in one of the Earl's letters as being actively engaged on his behalf. "He is gone to London with exceeding concern and passion for my good. He is changed much for the better, I thank God." As a last resource, the Earl attempted an escape from the leads of the Castle, but was retaken on Dee bank. Previous to this attempt he wrote the first of the two letters to his Countess (preserved by Seacome, and quoted above), recommending her surrender of the Isle of Man to Colonel Duckenfield, and leaving it on his table.[1]

After this the Earl was probably constantly guarded by the soldiers alluded to in his last speech, as his faithful attendant Bagaley, who commenced his attendance upon him on October 13th, describes him as having been close prisoner ten days.

During this strict confinement, Lord Derby wrote his Petition to Parliament, on October 11th, and it was presented and read by Lenthall on October the 14th, the eve of his execution. The official notice of the entire Parliamentary proceedings on that day is also subjoined, which notices the *reading* without any further result. Such reading allowed the Earl to disavow in most solemn form wilful participation in the blood-shedding at Bolton; but if Parliament had been inclined to attend to the prayer of his petition, it is difficult to conceive that they could have stayed the distant and impending execution.[2]

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[1] It will be found also in the *Perfect Diurnall*, Oct. 20, No. 97. Seacome's copy is a more regular composition, but that in the *Diurnall* has several more striking marks of authenticity, as, for instance, in the mention of Mr. Lane, his fellow-prisoner at Chester.

[2] Nevertheless, Seacome states (page 138) that "Lord Strange, having beforehand laid horses ready, rid post to London in one day and night," with a petition (which is identified with this, as having been received and presented by Lenthall), and returned to his father before the hour of execution, with *incredible* speed. It is observable that the reading of this petition was the *last* act of the House on the 14th, —that Leigh is 197 miles distant from London,—that Lord S. (as above) was in attendance on his father at Chester during the morning of Monday the 13th, and at Leigh soon after six in the morning of the 15th; and Bagaley's account of this is quoted by Seacome himself within two pages of his own previous and irreconcileable statement.

The Journals of the House only note the reading of the petition in a house of forty-

On Sunday, October 12th, the Earl's interesting letters to his Countess and children (preserved by Seacome) were written, and on the morning of Monday (13th), his departure for Bolton on the day following was announced, and the attendance of Bagaley permitted. The most affecting points of the Memoir written by this attendant,[1] are—the Earl's separation from his two younger daughters—his ungranted request to visit the grave of his friend and fellow-soldier Tyldesley—and his charge to Lord Strange, when attiring him, early on the morning of the 15th, with his decoration, or "Order of the Garter":—"Return it to my Gracious Sovereign, when you shall be so happy as to see him, and say I sent it in all humility and gratitude, as I received it, spotless and free from any stain, according to the example of my loyal ancestors."[2]

two members. Seacome states that "Cromwell and Bradshaw had so ordered the matter, that when they saw the major part of the House inclined to allow of the Earl's plea, as the Speaker was putting the question, eight or nine of them quitted the House, and those left in it being under the number of forty, no question could be put."

[1] Collins had access to this Memoir when in possession of James, tenth Earl of Derby, who died in 1736, and Seacome had it or a copy of it. The last writer (who ought to be clear on such a point) called its author the *Reverend* Humphrey Bagaley. A *Captain* Hum. Bagguly surrendered at Appleby along with Tyldesley (p. 276), and —— Baggerley was employed in directing Lord D.'s embarkation in Man, Aug. 12, 1651. Bagaley or Baggarley here named was a *prisoner* at Chester, and allowed to attend the Earl in prison, and to his execution. He had charge from the Earl to watch his interment, and was his confidential messenger to the Countess in Man.

[2] The sacrament was administered to the Earl at Leigh by Mr. Greenhalgh, who also appears to have been present at the Earl's execution, as Seacome mentions his notes of it. This clergyman may possibly be the "Doctor Green" of the spurious account. The *Weekly Intelligencer* states positively that "there was no divine with him," probably meaning thereby in attendance on the scaffold itself.

There was, however, one chaplain who continued to the last such dutiful and affectionate attendance as circumstances allowed to him, and, according to all or most of the accounts, was recognized by the Earl, as being seated on horseback among the troopers, and receiving from him last remembrances to his (the chaplain's) brother. The following account explains this to have been *Henry Bridgeman*, rector of Wigan, afterwards dean of Chester, and bishop of Man,—brother of Sir Orlando Bridgeman, and younger son of John Bridgeman, bishop of Chester, and manorial lord of *Great Lever*, adjacent to Bolton. See p. 322.

In this township a respectable family of the name of *Roscow* was settled, of moderate Presbyterian principles, and of course favourable to the Royalists at this juncture;

The sequel is told in the Tract following:—

Three versions, at least, of the LAST ADDRESS of the Earl, exist, besides that which is here given.

One, which was instantly condemned as spurious, is believed to be that which is reprinted in Sir Walter Scott's edition of Somers's Tracts, of which the title is given in the note below.[1] The style of the speech is totally unlike that of any known composition of the Earl's, and the Sermon and Examination of Dr. Green, with the alleged confession, are equally improbable and unpleasing.

A second is given in the *Black Tribunal*, from some earlier compilations, and approaches in some points to the authorized account, but has been sedulously tortured into a more oratorical form, inconsistent with the noble sufferer's characteristic simplicity.

The third may be found, with very little variation, in Peck's *Desiderata* (from Nalson's *Collections*) in Collins from Bagaley's MS. and in Seacome. The last states it to agree with his Lordship's paper (meaning probably a speech composed at Leigh, on the eve of his execution), notes taken by Mr. Greenhalgh, and "my Collection Baggerley." Of its genuineness, there can be no doubt, except that it seems to have been retouched and amplified.

The following copy of the speech appears as a Tract in the King's *Collection*, and is stated to have been taken down in short-hand by two clerks, one of whom (Roscow) is named, and in some degree identified. All the versions, more or less, have the *matter* of the original notes running through them; but it appears to the Editor, that this has more of the hurried abrupt character which

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and to this family, after inspection of many documents, the Editor is induced to refer the *James Roscow*, who took the short-hand notes of the Earl's last address.

[1] The title is as follows: "The TRUE SPEECH delivered on THE SCAFFOLD by JAMES, EARL of DERBY, in the Market Place at BOULTON in LANCASHIRE, on Wednesday last, being the 15th of this instant October, 1651. With the manner of his deportment and carriage on the Scaffold; his Speech concerning the King of Scots; and his prayer immediately before his head was severed from his body: as also his Declaration and Desires to the People. Likewise the manner how the King of Scots took shipping at Gravesend, on the 4th of this instant Oct. with Captain Hind, disguised in seaman's apparel, and safely arrived at the Hague in Holland. 4to. 8 pp."

the delivered address is said to have had—of the simple pathos which characterizes the Earl's other compositions—and of the keen feeling which, from the tone of his Petition, would be likely to pervade him, when amidst the unexpected sympathy of his hearers he was so suddenly compelled to exclaim, "God be thanked! there is no man that revileth me!"

Be this, however, as it may, some points will be in the following account, which do not occur in the more laboured version; and it appears desirable to add to what is more generally known, and more easily accessible, a document which is supposed to exist only in the Tracts of the day. It differs little, if at all, from a copy given in *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 72, p. 1152; *Perfect Diurnall*, No. 98, Oct. 27; and *Severall Proceedings*, No. 106, p. 1672. The last Journal prints it as a document which had been immediately transmitted to Paris, and received back from thence for publication in England.

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## LV.

### Letter from the Earl of Derby, Prisoner at Chester, to William Lenthall, Esq., Speaker of the House of Parliament.

(*From Tanner MS.* 55, *p.* 81.)

S^r^,

Being now, by the will of God, for ought I know, brought to the last minutes of my life, I once more most humbly pray the Parliament will be pleased to heare me before my death.

I plead nothing in vindication of my offences, but humbly cast myselfe downe at the Parliament's feete, begging their mercy.

I have severall times addrest my humble petitions for life, and now again crave leave to submit myselfe to their mercy, with the assurances that the Isle of Man shall be given up to such hands as the Parliament entrust to receive it: with this further engagement, (which I shall confirme by sureties), that I shall never act or indeavour any thing against the establisht power of this nation; but end my daies in prison or banish$^{t}$, as the house shall thinke fit.

S$^{r}$, it is a greater affliction to me than death it selfe, that I am sentenct to die at Bolton; so that the nation will looke upon me as a sacrifice for that blood w$^{ch}$ some have unjustly cast upon me; and from w$^{ch}$ I hope I am acquitted in your opinions and the judgement of good men, having cleard my selfe by undeniable evidence.

Indeed, at my triall it was never mentioned against me, and yet they adjudge me to suffer at Bolton, as if indeed I had bin guilty. I beg a respit for my life upon that issue, y$^{t}$ if I doe not acquit my selfe from that imputation, let me die without mercy.

But, S$^{r}$, if the Parliament have not this mercy for me, I humbly pray the place appointed for my death may be alterd, and that if the Parliam$^{t}$ thinke it not fit to give me time to live, they will be pleasd to give me time to die, in respiting my life for some time whilst I may fit my selfe for death; since thus long I have bin perswaded by Col. Duckenfield the Parlm$^{t}$ would give me my life. S$^{r}$, I submit my selfe, my family, wife, and children, to the mercy of Parliam$^{t}$, and shall live or die, S$^{r}$,

Your contented and humble Servant,
Octob. 11, 1651. DERBYE.

[*On the margin.*] S$^{r}$, I humbly beg the favour that the petition of a dyeing man, here inclosed, may by your favour be read in the house.

The letter is addressed, "For the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esq., Speaker of the Parliam$^{t}$ of the Common Wealth of England."

It has been indorsed by a later hand:—

"A l$^{re}$ from y$^{e}$ Earle of Derby of y$^{e}$ 11$^{th}$ of October 1651 w$^{h}$ y$^{e}$ Peticion of y$^{e}$ said Earle of Derby.

Rec$^{d}$ 14 Octobr. 1651."

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[1] This document, which has appeared in Cary's *Memorials* in a less complete form, was obligingly communicated to the Editor by the Rev. H. O. Coxe, M.A. Sub-Libra-

*Extract from the Journals of the House of Commons, Oct.* 14, 1651, *containing all the Proceedings of that day.*

" Prayers.

" The House according to former order, was this day resolved into a Grand Committee, upon the Bill for setting a certain Time for sitting of this Parliament and for calling a new Parliament.

" Mr. Speaker left the chair, Mr. Ellys took the chair, Mr. Speaker resumed the chair.

" Mr. Speaker by way of report, acquaints the House with a letter, which he had received from the Earl of Derby, and the question being put, That the said letter be now read, the House was divided, the Yeas went forth.

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|---|---|---|
| Sir Wm. Brereton<br>Mr. Ellys | Tellers for the Yeas<br>With the Yeas. | 22 |
| Mr. Bond<br>Maj. Gen. Harrison | Tellers for the Noes<br>With the Noes. | 16 |

" So it passed with the affirmative.

" A Letter from the Earl of Derby of the 11th day of October, 1651, with a Petition therein enclosed, intituled 'The Humble Petition of James Earl of Derby,' was this day read."

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## LVI.

*The Earle of Derby's Speech on the Scaffold, immediately before his Execution at Bolton in Lancashire, October* 15, 1651. *Exactly taken in short hand as it was spoken, and now published for the satisfaction of those that desire to be truly informed.*

*London:* printed for *Nathaniel Brooks*, and are to be sold at his shop at the sign of the *Angel*, in *Cornhill*, 1651.

The Earle of Derby was brought to Bolton on Wednesday last

rian of the Bodleian Library, who states that it appears to have been written throughout by Lord Derby.

about noon, his guard being sixty foot and eighty horse; about two of the Clock, brought forth to the scaffold, which was built at the Cross, part of that built with the timber of his own House of Latham: there was not above a hundred lookers on besides Soldiers: presently after his coming on the Scaffold, there happened a great tumult (the occasion thereof not being certainly known) in appeasing of which there were some cut, many hurt, and one childe killed. The Earle was no good Orator, and the tumult put him out of speaking what he intended: he was much afraid of being reviled by the people of the town, but they rather pitied his condition: his son came with him to Bolton, and carried his Corps back that night to Wiggan.

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## The last words of the Earl of *Derby* upon the scaffold at *Bolton*, the fifteenth day of October 1651.

Coming to the foot of the Ladder to the Scaffold, he said, I am thus requited for my love, and he kissed the Ladder, and said, I do submit my self to the mercy of God; and when he was upon the Scaffold, he said, Now that it pleaseth God to take away my life, I am glad to see that in this town, where some were made believe I was a Man of Blood, I was slandered to be the death of many. It was my desire the last time I came into this Country to come hither as to a people that ought to serve the king, as I conceive, upon good grounds.[1] It was said that I was accustomed to be a Man of Blood, but it doth not lie upon my Conscience, for I was wrongfully belyed. I thank God I desire peace; I was born in Honour and I hope I shall dye in Honour: I had a fair Estate, and did not need to mend it; I had good friends, and was respected, and did respect; they were ready to do for me, and I was ready to do for them; I have done nothing but as my ancestors, to do you good; it was the King that called me in, and I thought it my duty to wait upon his Highness to do him service.

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[1] The allusion obviously regarded the feelings of the Presbyterian party, of which

Then there arose a great tumult among the people; after which he said (looking all about him), I thought to have said more, but I have said. I cannot say much more to you of my good will to this town of *Bolton*, and I can say no more, but the Lord bless you, I forgive you all, and desire to be forgiven of you all, for I put my trust in Jesus Christ.[1] And looking about him, he said, I did never deserve this hard measure from above. Honest friends (you that are Souldiers), my life is taken away after Quarter given, by a Council of War, which was never done before. And walking up and down the Scaffold, he said, The Lord bless you all; the Son of God bless you all of this town of *Bolton*, *Manchester*, and especially *Lancashire*, and God send that you may have a King again, and Laws. I die like a Christian, a Souldier, and Christ's Souldier.

And sitting down in his chair, he said to a Souldier that had been his keeper, They are not ready (meaning the block was not ready), and bade him commend him to all his friends in *Chester*, and tell them I die like a Souldier; and causing the Coffin to be opened, he said, I hope when I am imprisoned in this, the Watchmen will not lie by me with their swords. And walking up and down the Scaffold, he looked about him and said, There is no man that revileth me, God be thanked.

And looking upon them that were on the Scaffold, he said, What do you stay for? It is hard that I cannot get a block to have my head cut off. He looking upon the Executioner, said, Thy Coat is too burly that thou canst not hit right, the Lord help thee and forgive thee. Then bowing to Mr. *Henry Bridgman*,[2] he said, They have brought me hither too soon, the block is not ready for me, Mr. *Bridgman;* tell your brother I take it as a great mercy

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Bolton was a local centre, and which were directly opposed to those of the ruling or predominant sect at this period.

[1] At the time of this interruption, according to most of the accounts, the Earl gave into the hands of a servant papers relative to the sentence of the court-martial and plea of quarter, which he intended to have spoken, and which in some copies of his speech are worked into it as portions of the speech.

[2] See note in p. 316, respecting Mr. Bridgeman and James Roscow.

of God that I am brought hither, for I might have dyed in the midst of a Battel, and have not dyed so well, for now I have time to make my peace with God.

And turning him to *James Roscow* (one of the two Clerks that writ his Speech in short hand), he said, Do you write what I say? It may be I say not well, but my meaning is good.

And looking upon the block, he said to one of his men, Lay down your neck upon the block, and see how it will fit, but he refused: and a Trumpeter that was upon the Scaffold, layd down his neck to try how it would fit; after that he layd down his own neck upon the block, and rose up again, and caused the block to be turned, and laying his neck upon it again, said, Do not strike yet. And when he rose up, he went about the Scaffold and said, I desire your Prayers, pray for me, the Lord blesse you all! the Lord blesse this poor Nation.

Then he gave his handkerchiefs out of his two pockets to his servants. Then he kneeled down and prayed privately, and then layd down his neck upon the block, and said to the Executioner, When I lift up my hand, then give the blow; and just when he gave the sign, one of his servants said, Good my Lord, let me speak one word before, and looking up, he said, I have given you a sign, but you have ill missd it.

And being upon his knees, he said, Honest friends, I thank God I fear not death; I rejoyce to serve God, my King, and Country; I am sorry to leave some of my Christian Friends, but I hope the Lord will keep them, and bless them: the Lord of Heaven bless my Wife and poor Children, the Lord bless his People and my good King.

And laying his head upon the block, he said, Let the whole Earth be filled with his Glory! and giving the last sign, by holding up his hand, his Head was severed from his Body with one blow.

# Appendix.

CONTAINING VARIOUS TRACTS, ETC., RELATING TO PROCEEDINGS IN THE YEAR MDCXLII, WHICH WERE OBTAINED WHILST THE WORK WAS IN COURSE OF PUBLICATION.

## III.*

*Horrible Newes from Lancashire, Declared in a Letter sent from Lancaster by one Mr. Benj. Williamson to Mr. Adam Andrewes, Merchant and Inhabit. in the Borrough of Southwarke; wherein is related what Tumultuous uprores the Papists in those parts have lately made to the terror of the Inhabitants of the said County. Also, a true Relation how the Protestants rose in armes and forced them to flye. Likewise a large Manifestation of the great care of the Sheriffe of Lancaster to disarme the Papists and to prevent such uprores and tumults. Together with an Order sent from the House of Commons to the High Sheriffe of Lancaster, touching the suppressing of the above said tumults.* JOHN BROWNE, *Cler. Parl.*

*London:* Printed for *J. Horton*, 1642, June 3. (8 pp.)

AN unimportant pamphlet, but mentions the assemblage "of a great number of Papists to the vallew of 3 hundred, with swords by their sides, waiting as it seemes for more company," but with objects unknown, on a great plain, within 7 miles of Lancaster, on May 25.

That the inhabitants gathered together, and put themselves in a posture of defence, sending for the Sheriff, who rode to Lancaster and published the "Order of the Houses of Parliament for the suppressing of such meetings."

That by the advice of some gentlemen present the Papists were desired to disperse quietly, with a hint that if they did not, the Protestants would "force their departure, or make their place of meeting a *terrene Golgotha*, and bring them and their designs together; which blunt message affrighted so the Papists, that they began apace to take their journeys each to his habitation," muttering threats, &c. and "speaking as if they had some plot in agitation."

The rest relates to remarks of no importance.

## V.*

*Original Letter from Alexander Rigby of Preston [a Parliamentary Dep. Lieut. of Lancashire] to the Speaker of the House of Commons, detailing proceedings at the Meeting Convened by Lord Derby, and the Sheriff of Lancashire, on Preston Moor, June* 20, 1642, *for the purpose of opening the Royal Commission of Array, and also respecting the subsequent seizure of Magazines by the said Earl and sheriff.*[1]

Honourable Sir,

Master *Shuttleworth* and my selfe, being in obedience to the commands of both Houses in our way to *Lancashire*, and hearing, as we found it true, that by Colour of a Letter from the *King* to Sir *John Girlington*, the high *Sheriffe* of that County, publick summons was given through all or most part of the County, that all the Protestant subjects therein should, the next day, appeare at *Preston,* to heare read the last *Lancashire* Petition to the King, and his Answer thereunto,[1] and his Majesties 2 last declarations to that of both houses of the 19 and that of the 26 May,[2] we by the way discharged some, with whom casually met, of their appearance, and willed them to do the like to their neighbours, and from the Constable of *Standish* we tooke a Warrant directed to him alone, for the summoning of all within that Township, which Warrant had that very day, being Sunday, beene published in *Standish Church* by Master *Chaddock* the Parson thereof. And we did that night repaire to *Preston,* whither the next morning, being the 20 of this instant June, the high *Sheriffe* accompanied with the Lord *Strange,* his eldest son a child, the Lord *Mollineux,* son in law to the Lord *Strange,*[3] and divers other Gentlemen resorted, and thither also then came about five thousand persons upon the said Summons, whom the *Sheriffe* did then draw out to a great Moore adjoining, called *Preston Moor.*

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[1] After diligent search among the Tracts of the British Museum and elsewhere, the Editor thinks it probable that this letter has never previously been printed *entire*, although a portion of it is given in Baines's *Lancashire* (iv. 311) as mentioned in p. 18, and the principal matter of the letter is stated, without citation of authority, in Hibbert's *Hist. of the Collegiate Church* (i. 192), as referred to, p. 13.

This interesting document is here printed from a copy bound up with other Lancashire Collections, and obligingly communicated by Mr. Baines; and as far as the Editor can trust to his recollection, he believes it to be a transcript of a letter shewn to him about 1808, by the late Mr. W. Ford of Manchester, who was then collecting the materials for a history of the public foundations of Manchester, which afterwards passed successively into the hands of Mr. Greswell and Dr. Hibbert.

But before the *Sheriffe* went forth, we, who by the shortnesse of time could convene no other of the Committee, or of the rest of the Deputy Lieutenants, acquainted the *Sheriffe* that we, with others, as a Committee of both Houses, were by them sent downe for the preservation of the peace of the County, and shewed him such parts of our instructions as enjoyned his obedience thereunto, and conduced to the present occasion; and we demanding, he acknowledged that he, upon the said Letter, had caused the people to be summoned and convened to the purpose aforesaid, and shewed us the Letter, but not the *Declarations.*

We told him we feared the publishing of the Declaration might tend the raising of a faction or party against the Parliament, and we therefore admonished and advised him to forbeare the doing, publishing, or dispensing anything of that nature, and we further demanding, he told us that he had a commission of Array, directed to the Lord *Strange*, to himselfe, to Sir *George Midleton*, now lately made Baronet at *Yorke*, Sir *Alexander Radcliffe*, Master *Tildesley* of Mierscough, Master *William Farington*, and others, and that when the people were drawne together, he would acquaint them with that Commission, and that he would also proclaim the King's Proclamation of 27 of *May*,[1] which hee affirmed he had already caused to be proclaimed in many places.

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[1] See pages .

[2] These are, the King's Answer to the Remonstrance, &c. (*Husbands, Coll.* 4to. 239) and an Answer to a Later Remonstrance (Ibid. 282.)

[3] See p. 47, and note ibid. respecting this alleged alliance.

We thereupon wished him to forbeare it; and afterwards, according to our instructions, we tendered unto him and required him, in the name of the Lords and Commons, to read and publish to the people several Bookes, conteining the *Declaration* of the Lords and Commons concerning the said *Proclamation* and the supposed Statute 7 Edw. I,[2] as also the Votes of both Houses made the 20 of *May* last,[3] with sundry Articles or Acts of Parliament, to confirme the same; but he refused to publish them or to receive them from our hands; and when the people were assembled, he and his under Sheriffe, Master *Thomas Danson*, and *Robert Male*, a Popish Recusant, and others, did then read unto them the said Letter, *Lancashire Petition* and answer, the two last Declarations of the *King*, and the *Sheriffe* himselfe shewed unto them the *Commission of Array* under the Great Seal of England.

But before these passages were ended, the assembly went away, except as we believe about 6 or 700 persons, in whose presence we call'd to the *Sheriffe*, and told him that we were to speake unto him, in the name of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, and were to acquaint him with our instructions concerning his *Commission of Array*, and his intermedling with the *Militia* of the *County*, but he refused to stay to heare them, and then according to our instructions we did in the name of the Lords and Commons of *England* require and command him to deliver unto us that

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[1] A proclamation forbidding the Militia, &c. to exercise without the King's warrant. —*Husband*, 4to. 301.

[2] Ibid. p. 302.

[3] The resolutions respecting the King's intention to make a war, &c. and the treason of those who assisted him, &c.—Ibid. p. 259.

*Commission of Array*,[1] to be by us sent to the Parliament, or to give us his answer, and thereupon hee denyed to deliver that Commission, and Master *Tildesley* of *Mierscough* told us we should receive an answer from *Yorke.*

We also in the name of the Lords and Commons commanded the *Sheriffe* and all his fellow Commissioners in that Commission of Array to forbeare the execution thereof, and all the people to forbeare to obey the same, at which the *Sheriffe* departed, and he and divers about him cryed out, "All that are for the *King* goe with us," crying, "For the *King*, for the *King*," and so about 400 persons whereof very many, and we believe the greater part, were *Popish Recusants*, went with him and rid up and down the Moor, and cryed, "For the *King*, for the *King*," but the rest then staying with us we proceeded and declared unto them, that we and others were sent down by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, for the preservation of the peace of this *County*, and that both Houses, and ourselves in particular, ever had done and ever would doe, all things tending to the safety, honour and peace of the *King's* person, and his Kingdomes, and nothing to the contrary, and wished them not to divide between the King and Parliament, but to stand for the King and Parliament, whereupon with a general acclamation they prayed for the King and Parliament.

We then wished all high Constables and petty Constables, and others then present, to be attentive, and we read unto them such parts of the instructions as were applicable to the present passages and the *Militia* of the *County*, concerning which we told them that all the Deputy Lieutenants appoynted by the Parliament were forthwith to meet, and therefore we but being two, would give no further direction therein till that time, and then they should receive further advertisements how to behave themselves, and in the mean time we advised them not to suffer themselves to be drawne into armes without direction from the Parliament, and so we dismissed the assembly.

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[1] The Commission of Array is printed by Husband, 4to. p. 346, with a copy of the King's letter sent with the *Leicestershire* Commission, which was probably the pattern for the rest.

Sir *George Midleton* and Master *Thomas Tildesley* of *Miercough,* and Master *Thomas Prestwicke,* whose wives are Popish Recusants, and Master *William Farington,* a Justice of Peace, were in our Judgements the most busie and active, and they assisted, countenanced, and abetted the Sheriffe in all the aforesaid passages, and therein pressed and urged him forward who of himselfe was thereunto sufficiently inclined, and whilst these things were in acting upon the *Moor, Will. Sumpner,* servant to Master *William Farington,* who during his late Deputy-Lieutenancy had placed in a private house in *Preston* about 13 barrells of Gunpowder, and some quantity of Match, did secretly convey away about 6 barrells thereof, in Packcloathes upon Packhorses, and the next morning, about six of the clocke, and before we had notice in whose house that Powder and Match was lodged, the Sheriffe did convey away out of the Towne and Liberties of *Preston* the residue of the said Powder and Match.

Which being made knowne to me, I forthwith repayred to the Sheriffe, and shewed him the Order of the Lords and Commons, made the 10 of May last, for the disposing of the Magazines, and also a deputation from the Lord *Wharton* authorizing his Deputy-Lieutenants, or any two or more of them to dispose of the Magazines of *Lancashire,* and then desired him to cause that Powder to be returned to *Preston,* but he answered that he would not return it but would keepe it and defend it with the power of the County, and the Sheriffe and Sir George *Midleton* then said that that Order should not be obeyed, and I thought it not meet for so small a quantity of Powder and Match, though indeed a very considerable quantity for the time and place, to endeavour a returne thereof by force, so that it now remaineth unknowne to me where they (who took it) have disposed it.

In the last place I make bold to present my opinion, that the Malignant party could not by any passage at the assembly on *Preston Moor* distinguish that the affections of any considerable part thereof inclined unto them, and I verily believe that we lost not but gained by that dayes Worke, for the safety and peace of the King and Kingdome; yet concerning the Sheriffe, I considered the man, and the command incident to his place, the great number of Papists, the great store of Horses for Service now amongst them, the many *Popish Protestant Professors* and other Malignant persons you may peradventure feare, that thereby we shall receive discouragement, unlesse your timely and full assistance be extended to us, and the others here intrusted by you, but however I trust in God with the issue and sequel, his Majesty shall find the loyalty and you the fidelity and industry of

Dated *Preston*,
June 1642.

Your humble Servant,
ALEX. RIGBY.

Sir,

The reason why Master *Shuttleworth* subscribed not this Letter, is, for that before it could be made up, I was by many of my fellow Deputy-Lieutenants, upon the occasion mentioned in their and my Letters, herewith sent suddenly, called away from *Preston* to *Manchester*, whither Master *Shuttleworth* is not yet come, pardon I pray you the foulnesse of this Letter, in regard to the shortnesse of time, and the multiplicity of our occasions.

*Manchester* in *Lancashire*,
the 24 of *June* 1642.

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## VI.*

[CHAP. II. p. 20.]

*His Majesties Desires and Command to all the Trayned Bands and others on this side Trent and Dominion of Wales to be in Readinesse with Horse and Arms to serve his Majesty for defence of the Kingdome, and to be in such readinesse, that they may be able to march at 24 houres warning at the furthest. Signed with his Royal Signet at the Court of Yorke and published by his Majesties*

*speciall Command. With the Sheriffe of Yorkshires Propositions to the Gentry and Commonalty of that County. July* 1, 1642.
*Likewise a Letter which came from Manchester, read in the House of Commons, concerning a great Troop of Horse lately come from York, under the command of the Lord Strange, and the Parliaments Resolution concerning the same.* Hen. Elsyng, *Cler. Parl. D. Com.*

July 6. Printed for *John Norton,* 1642.

The information relating to Lancashire is as follows:—

On Friday last there was a letter read in the House which came from *Lancashire,* informing that the Officers appointed by his Majesty went on so vehemently that the Ordinance for the Militia could not take place; the Lord *Rivers* is very brief in setting the Country against the Parliament, who brought 1000 men into the field at one time.

The Inhabitants of Manchester are in great fear, by reason the Lord *Strange* hath brought more forces from *Yorke* against them. They have had some skirmishes together, the Lord *Strange* having had the worst on't.

It was agreed by both Houses that Sir *Geo. Middleton* be forthwith sent for as a delinquent.

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## VI. * *

[Chap. II. p. 20.]

*A true Relation of the taking of Roger Manwering, Bishop of St. David's, coming from Ireland in a disguis'd habit, in a Ship call'd the Eagle, the* 28 *of June* 1642, *by Captaine John Pointz. Also the relation of the sudden rising of the Lord Strange in Lankashire, and of his intention of taking of the Magazine of Larpoole. Likewise concerning the Lord Digby, &c. &c.*

Henry Elsing, Cler. Parl. D.

*London:* Printed by *Thos. Banks,* July 9, 1642.

The first article is signed *John Pointz,* and the Tract proceeds as follows:—

"Likewise it was related unto me since my coming over, that the *L. Strange* was risen up in Arms in *Lancashire,* intending to take away the Magazine there of *Larpool* and *Manchester,* with 12000 men of the same County to assist him; and to resist him a great number were raised to resist him, and by the assistance of Mr. *Moore,* who being comanded by the Parliament to demand that Lords reason of raising such forces, and to take away the Militia, by his care the Magazine is staid, and brought unto the Lievtenant of the County, till further order be heard from the Parliament. Had not Moore came there had been a good deal of mischief, near nine score thousand people, but thanks be to God, all things are there at peace."

"There is a report likewise of the Lord Digby and others to have been landed neere Hull," &c. &c.

## XIX.*

[Chap. III. p. 56.]

*A true and exact Relation of the Several Passages at the Siege of Manchester, between the Lord Strange his forces and the Towne; wherein is evidently seene the wonderfull mercy of God in their deliverance. Written by one that was an eie-witnesse and an Actor in most of that Service.*

*Also a Protestation of Master Hotham, and divers others, Knights and Gentlemen, against the* 14 *Articles of Pacification and Neutrality.*

*London:* Printed for *Edward Blackman,* at the Angel in Paul's Church Yard, Oct. 12, 1642.

The account is very minute, but inferior in interest and in composition to the more authentic Journal printed at p. 49. The following points of *additional* information require notice.

Manchester is stated to have been put on its guard by the forces collected at Warrington, for a fortnight previous to the siege. The meeting of gentlemen on the news of the Earl's approach, at ten p.m. on Sat. Sep. 25 (24), and the alarm signals, are given as in the other Tracts. "One thousand men in compleat Armes," are said to have been within the towne on the evening of Sunday. The requisition of Lord Strange, on his first appearance before the town, is stated to have been a demand for the arms of the town, and billets for a hundred men.

All the positions of the defenders of the town are mentioned,—*Roseworm* at the *Bridge,* and *Bradshaw* at the *Deansgate,* against the Batteries; the *Market-street-lane* was guarded by soldiers under Captain *Radcliffe,* the *Millgate* by Captain *Booth,* and *Suedhill* by a "company of resolute soldiers without any commander." One solitary movement of cavalry was made to the east of the town on Monday, by Derby's troops, but instantly repelled. On the Wednesday, the gentlemen are stated to have been "inclinable to condescend," but to have been checked by the steadiness of the soldiers, in particular by that of Mr. Ashton's tenants,—"by a general shout of Captain *Bradshaw's* Company, declaring that they would part with their armes and their lives together."

On Thursday, Mr. Butterworth of Belfield, "a prime man," having gone for aid towards London, Holland, the governor, drew Booth and Egerton to his party, and wished for a renewed parley; and some of the soldiers became discontented, from the plunder going on at their exposed dwellings. The discontent was appeased by Hyde, Bradshaw, and Roseworm.

On the same day, a report was spread of Mr. Leigh of Adlington's advance against the town, through Stockport, with four hundred Cheshire men (see p. 46); and Mr. Arderne of Harden, his near kinsman, but possessing much influence in that direction, was detached to oppose him. The report, however, was incorrect, the men refusing to advance into Lancashire. On Monday, the Parliamentarian troops returned to their homes.

## XX.*

[Chap. III. p. 58.]

*A Continuation of the late proceedings of His Majesties Army at Shrewsbury, Bridgenorth, Manchester, &c. Written by a good hand from the Army.*

*London: Batt.* Oct. 12, 1642. (Heywood's Cat. No. 10.[1])

Shrewsbury, Oct. 8, 1642.

[The first part of the letter relates to the state of the King's Army at Shrewsbury, which is estimated at 6000 foot, 3000 horse, and 1500 dragoons. It then proceeds thus:—]

"We have had warrants to send in Horses and Carts for his [the king's] removall, which are come towards *Salop*, but whither his Majesty intends is not certainly known; it is given out he intends for *London.* I pray God blesse him, and send him well thither in peace; but it is conceived by others that he will march toward *Yorke*, and take *Manchester* in the way, where the new *Earle* of *Derby* hath had but bad successe, he hath lost above two hundred men. Last Tuesday he was faine to leave it, and it is given out for the reparation of his honour, that his Majesty sent twice for him."

[The pamphlet then mentions the "faintheartednesse" of Cheshire, and its proposed neutrality, and proceeds with other matters in Wales, Shropshire, &c., not connected with Lancashire.]

October 8, 1642. I rest

Yours.

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[1] The matter of this Tract, as quoted above, agrees with that of the *Perfect Diurnall*, cited in p. 59, and is transcribed from Mr. Baines's MS. Collection. The original Tract is mentioned in the Catalogue of Mr. Heywood's late Collection, but has not occurred elsewhere.

## XXI.*

[Chap. III. p. 61.]

*Good Newes out of Cheshire, being a certaine Relation of the late Passages of that great Malignant James Earl of Darby; how he raised Forces against the Parliament, with which drawing towards the Kings Army near Brumicham in Warwickshire he was set upon and defeated by the Trained Bands of that County, losing in the fight, six hundred of his Cavaliers.*

*London:* Printed for *John Davis.*

The matter of the Tract consists of statements that the Earl of Derby, after his losses at Manchester, recruited his Cavaliers in his Lancashire, Cheshire, and Welsh Lieutenancies, and marched through Chester, Shrewsbury, and Newport, towards Warwickshire, then left exposed by the movement of Essex southwards.

That on Friday morning, the Warwickshire trained bands marched to meet him, four thousand strong; four hundred being horse, and having two pieces of cannon from Warwick Castle. The Earl is said to have encountered them "one mile on this side Brumicham," and to have been defeated with the loss of six hundred slain, and full as many prisoners,—the loss of his opponents being seven score,—and to have stolen down, after his defeat, to his Manor of Latham in Lancashire.

The Tract has no date,—except that of Nov. 23, 1642, added to the British Museum copy in MS,—as in the other King's Tracts. The scene of battle is not mentioned, or the name of any officer engaged, except Lord Derby; and the Editor has not been able to meet with any collateral confirmation of the alleged proceedings.

## Biographical Notices.

THE following brief Notices, which might be amplified to many volumes, have no pretensions beyond an attempt to identify the persons and families of the numerous individuals who appear prominently in the preceding Tracts, but who, for the most part, were (as is probable) very little known, even in their own day, beyond the sphere of their local exertions, or the connexions of family and estate.

The GENERAL INDEX will at once lead the reader to the series of actions and sufferings of these individuals, as recorded in the TRACTS themselves; and REFERENCES are subjoined to the several names, pointing to MSS. or printed books, where the investigation may be further pursued.

AMBROSE (ISAAC) pastor of PRESTON, author of several works, one of the Lancashire Presbyterian divines named in the Ordinance of 1644 for Ordination of ministers, and mentioned with much commendation by Calamy and in Hunter's *Life of Heywood.*

AMBROSE (WILLIAM) one of the Commissioners proposed in an Ecclesiastical Bill rejected by king Charles at Oxford, and probably William A. of LOWICK. See West's *Furness*, 4to. p. 204. There was, however, another family of Ambrose at Woodplumpton.

ANGIER (JOHN) pastor of DENTON. One of the most popular and influential of the Presbyterian ministers, and also a member of the local committee of Ordination. See Calamy, Hunter, and Hibbert's *Coll. Ch. of Manchester.*

ANDERTON (JOHN) of ANDERTON, Esq. added to the Lieutenancy on Hamilton's approach in 1648. There is a pedigree of the family in *Dugd. Vis. Lanc.* 1664.

ANDERTON — of CLAYTON, commander of the Royalists at the storming of Preston, (called "*Old Master Anderton*") coincides in time with Hugh Anderton, of Euxton and Clayton, Esq. between whose representatives these manors seem to have been divided on the death of the said Hugh. This family was a younger branch from Anderton. See Burke's *Commoners*, i. 607. There is a pedigree of it in Dugdale's *Vis. Lanc.* 1664.

ANDERTON (JAMES) captain of horse, apparently James A. of Clayton, younger son of Hugh Anderton before mentioned.

ANDERTON (—) of BURCHLEY. Roger Anderton of Birchley (younger son of Christopher A. of Lostock, and a recusant) died in 1640, having married a daughter of Edward Stafford, Esq. of which Roger A. this was probably the son. See Baines, iii. 452; and Burke's *Commoners*, i. 608.

ANDERTON (CHRISTOPHER) of LOSTOCK, Esq. (a collateral line of Anderton of Anderton) was father of Francis Anderton, Esq. created a baronet by Charles II in 1677. See Wotton's *Baronetage*, iii. part ii. p. 633; and Dugdale's *Vis. Cest.* 1664.

ARDERNE (JOHN) of HARDEN and ALVANLEY, Esq. the heir male of a family which branched from the Ardens of Northamptonshire, and settled at Aldford Castle in Cheshire in the time of king John. (*Hist. Chesh.* and Nichols's *Topographer*, i. 208.) The politics of the family were those of Sir George Booth's party with respect to the first resistance to Charles and the subsequent support of his son, and afterwards as decidedly in favour of the measures of James II. See Wood's *Ath. Ox.* Diary of Bishop Cartwright, and Dean Arderne's early and rare work, " The Kingdom of England the best Commonwealth."

ASHHURST (HENRY) Esq. (a citizen and merchant of LONDON) one of the founders of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. He occurs as a receiver of contributions for relief of Lancashire distresses, was younger son of HENRY ASHHURST of ASHHURST, Esq. and father of Sir Henry Ashhurst of Waterstock, Oxon. created a baronet in 1688. See Wotton's *Baronetage*, 1727, iii. 20; and Baxter's tribute to his truly Christian character, in a funeral sermon, 1681.

ASHHURST (JOHN) Parliamentary captain, of Radcliffe, near Manchester.

ASHHURST (WILLIAM) of ASHHURST, Esq. elder brother of Henry, abovementioned, and a member of the Lancashire Committee. See Wotton, as above.. He was a major in the service of the Parliament; but after the separation of the Presbyterian and Independent parties, joined the Royalists, and was an active supporter of Charles II and Lord Derby in 1651.

ASSHETON (EDMUND) younger brother of Sir Ralph A. the younger, and his successor in the baronetcy; removed by the Parliament from the magistracy. See Whitaker, &c. undermentioned.

ASSHETON (RADCLIFFE) younger brother of Sir Ralph A. the elder, and ancestor of the present family of A. of Cuerdale. Sir Whitaker's *Whalley*, 244, 299.

ASSHETON (SIR RALPH) of GREAT LEVER and WHALLEY, created a baronet, 1620; died 1644. See Whitaker's *Whalley*, 244.

ASSHETON (RALPH) of GREAT LEVER and WHALLEY) Esq. M.P. for Clithero, 1640, and succeeded his father as a baronet, 1644; died 1680. See Collins' *Baronetage*, ii. 219; and Whitaker's *Whalley*, p. 244.

ASSHETON (RALPH) major-general (representative of the MIDDLETON branch of the Ashtons of Ashton), one of the most active and influential members of the lieutenancy, colonel of one of the Lancashire regiments, and commander in chief of the militia of the county, as colonel-general in 1648. He was knight of the shire at the commencement of the troubles; died in 1652, in the forty-fifth year of his age, according to an inscription in Middleton church, printed in Whitaker's *Whalley*, p. 524, and Collins' Baronetage, ii. 216. Consult these and Dugdale's *Vis. Lanc.* 1664. His eldest son is enumerated among the supposed victims of witchcraft; his second was created a baronet, 1660.

ASSHETON (WILLIAM) pastor of Middleton, one of the Presbyterian Committee of Ordination, and younger brother of the parliamentary general. Collins' *Baronetage*.

ASHTON (JAMES) of CHADDERTON, Esq. (a collateral branch from Ashton), a member of the Lancashire Committee. See Dugdale's *Vis. Lanc.* 1664.

ASHTON (—) of PENKETH, jun.; probably John, son of Thomas Ashton of Penketh, living at the Lancashire Visitation of 1613. See continuation of same in Harl. MSS. 1987.

ASHTON (RICHARD) Esq. (not identified), occurs in the proposed committee for punishment of scandalous ministers, &c. in 1643. See p. 91.

ASTON (SIR THOMAS) of ASTON, in Cheshire, Bart., chief of that family, and a relative of Sir Arthur Aston, slain at Tredagh, in Ireland. He was author of a Survey of Presbyterian Discipline (printed with the Cheshire Petition, called a Remonstrance against Presbytery) in 1641; commanded the forces defeated by Brereton near Middlewich, 1643; and died of wounds received at Stafford, 1645. See *Hist. Chesh.* iii. 97, and Sir P. Leycester's character of him, ibid. i. 535.

ATHERTON (—) captain of horse, and seemingly in Lord Molyneux's regiment, but not further identified.

BAGALEY, or BAGGERLEY (HUMPHREY) an attendant of Lord Derby, and author of the Diary of his imprisonment, &c. See p. 316.

BATH (ROBERT) pastor of ROCHDALE, and one of the Presbyterian Committee of Ordination, sent down by his wife's uncle, archbishop Laud, but stated to have mightily disappointed him by proving a Puritan. See Calamy, *Account*, 399, and Whitaker's *Whalley*, 445, 3rd edit.

BELL (WILLIAM) M.A. pastor of HUYTON, one of the king's preachers for Lancashire, and one of the Presbyterian Committee of Ordination. See Calamy, *Account*, p. 404.

BINDLOSS (SIR ROBERT) of BORWICK, Bart. one of the parliamentary deputy-lieutenants, added to the list in 1645. See Burke's *Ext. Barts.*

BIRCH (THOMAS) of BIRCH, in the parish of Manchester, deputy-lieutenant, a colonel of militia, governor of Liverpool, and M.P. for that borough. See Dugdale's *Vis. Ches.* 1664, and Vernon's pedigree of the family in Baines, ii. 531. His son, of the same name, was a Lancashire antiquary, and some of his collections are printed by Gregson.

BIRKENHEAD (HENRY) of BACKFORD, co. Cest. Esq. one of the Cheshire magistrates, 1650, and lieut.-col. of Duckenfield's Cheshire regiment in the same year. *Hist. Chesh.* i. xxxix. and ii. 200.

BLUNDELL (WILLIAM) of CROSBY, Esq. taken prisoner at Preston, after his thigh was shattered by a ball. See Seacome, orig. edit. p. 83, and a letter from him, describing his sufferings, in Baines, iv. 217; but in the previous remarks (ibid.) the scene of his misfortune is incorrectly stated to be the siege of Lathom.

BOLD (PETER) of BOLD, Esq. representative of one of the most ancient houses in Lancashire, and described in Dodsworth's Pedigree (Harl. MSS. 1987) as aged nine years at the death of his father, Richard Bold, Esq. in 1635, and (of course) a minor during the greatest part of the civil war.

BOOTH (SIR GEORGE) Bart. Lord of the Palatine Baronies of DUNHAM and WARRINGTON, severally in Cheshire and Lancashire, twice sheriff of each county, and an active deputy-lieutenant at the commencement of the civil war, when approaching the age of eighty. See *Hist. Chesh.* i. 402. Collins' *Peerage*, edit. 1768. Clarendon, vii. 323.

BOOTH (SIR GEORGE) Bart. grandson and heir of the preceding, and, as Clarendon says, "of infinite power with the Presbyterians, for the memory of his grandfather." He also supported the parliament in the early struggles, but afterwards distinguished himself in well-known exertions on behalf of Charles II in 1659, and became the first Lord Delamere. See authorities as before, and Hunter's *Heywood*, 178.

BOOTH (JOHN) parliamentary colonel; afterwards knighted, and of WOODFORD, in Cheshire. See *Hist. Chesh.* iii. 445. He was a younger son of Sir Geo. Booth of Dunham, the elder.

BOOTLE (WILLIAM) captain in the service of the parliament. See p. 189.

BOURNE (WILLIAM) B.D. Senior Fellow of the COLL. CH. MANCH. under the charter of Charles I, and buried there Aug. 26, 1643. See Hibbert, i. 205, 414, and many notices in Hollinworth's *Mancuniensis*.

BRADELL (JOHN) Esq. John Braddyll of PORTFIELD (ancestor of Braddyll of Conishead), died 1655, having had issue a son of the same name, slain in the civil war in 1643, at Thornton in Craven. Whitaker's *Whalley*, p. 244, 3rd edit.

BRADSHAW (HENRY) of MARPLE and WYBERSLEGH in Cheshire, Esq. (elder brother of the president), lieut.-col. in Ashton's Lancashire regiment, col. of one of the Cheshire regiments which was distinguished at Worcester, and one of the judges on Lord Derby's court martial. He was father of Henry B., purchaser of Bradshaw Hall in Lancashire, 1693. *Hist. Chesh.* iii. 408-11.

BRADSHAW (JAMES) born at HACKING in Darcy Lever (according to Calamy), afterwards of Brazenose College, Oxford, minister of Wigan, one of the adherents of Sir George Booth in 1652, and ejected as a non-conformist after the Restoration. See his Life in Calamy.

Bradshaw (John) the President, third son of Henry B. of Marple, by his wife Catherine Winnington; chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster; died 1659, without issue.

Bradshaw (John) of Bradshaw Hall, Bolton parish (often confounded with the President). He was eldest son of John B. of B. and Isabel Ashton; married Alice Leicester of Toft; served the office of sheriff of Lancashire, 1645, under an ordinance which specially ordered his patent of office, and enacted the oath for himself and successors; and was buried at Bolton, 1665. Husband, p. 598. *Lanc. Vis.* 1613 and 1614. Marple Deeds, and MS. Pedigree drawn from deeds in 1661.

Bradshaw (Robert) captain in the service of the parliament, coincident in name and time with Robert, younger brother of John Bradshaw of Bradshaw, abovementioned.

Brereton (William) of Brereton, Cheshire, head of that ancient house, and second Lord Brereton of Leighlin, in Ireland. See *Hist. Chesh.* iii. 49, 449, and also Noble's *Regicides*, i. 118.

Brereton (Sir William) of Honford, Cheshire, Bart. a Lancashire deputy-lieutenant, and frequently acting in concert with the Manchester garrison. For a memoir of this distinguished and successful officer, see *Hist. Chesh.* iii. 326; and for notices of his general military career, ibidem, 449. After the death of Laud, he had a grant of the archiepiscopal palace at Croydon.

Brethergh (Lieut.) of the family of Brethergh Holt in Childwall, well known in Puritan biography by the Life of "Mistris Katherin Brethergh" (sister of Bruen of Stapleford), and some funeral sermons by Leygh and Harrison, published with it. Pedigree in Dugdale's *Vis. Lanc.* 1664, and Harl. MSS. 1987.

Brideoake (Ralph) D.D. born at Chetham Hill, near Manchester, educated at that school and at Brazenose, afterwards high master of Manchester school, and chaplain at Lathom during the siege; subsequently chaplain to Lenthall, speaker of the House of Commons; and finally bishop of Chichester, after the Restoration, through the interest of the Duchess of Portsmouth. A memoir of his eventful and not very creditable career will be found in the *Athenæ Oxoniensis.*

Bridgeman (Henry) D.D. (younger son of John Bridgeman, bishop of Chester), rector of Wigan, &c. dean of Chester, and afterwards bishop of Man. See *Hist. Chesh.* i. 221.

Bridgeman (John) D.D. Bishop of Chester, 1619; purchaser of Great Lever from the Ashetons, and the proprietor thereof, noticed in the *Valley of Achor*, p. 129. See *Hist. Chesh.* i. 76. Baines, ii. 614.

Bridgeman (Sir Orlando) Bart. eldest son of the preceding, created a baronet 1660, and lord keeper 1667; ancestor of the earls of Bradford.

Buckley (James) of Whitfield, within Crompton in Oldham; parliamentary captain. Clegg. Ped. privately printed.

Butterworth (Edward) of Belfield, Esq. one of the Lancashire Committee in 1645. See Dugdale's *Vis.* 1664, and Whitaker's *Whalley*, 3rd edit. 456.

Buxton (Michael) one of the constables of Manchester, 1645.

Byrom (Henry) of Byrom, Esq. serjeant-major in the regiment of Lord Molineux, and slain at Edge Hill, 1642.

Byrom (John) of Salford, a descendant of the same family; serjeant-major in the Royalist regiment commanded by Col. Nowell, and one of the prominent characters in the rejoicings at Manchester at the Restoration.

Byron (John) first Lord Byron, Baron of Rochdale (being so created in 1643, with remainder to his six brothers); one of a family of gallant Royalists, distinguished by high services in the siege and the field. The points where he occurs in the present work, relate to the siege of Nantwich and defence of Chester.

Byron (Sir Robert) younger brother of Lord Byron; Royalist colonel, governor of Liverpool during the siege by Sir John Meldrum in 1644.

Cansfield (John) of Cansfield in Tunstall, Esq. afterwards knighted, and commander of the queen's regiment of horse in the second battle of Newbury, where he is said to have saved the life of Charles I and the Prince by a decisive charge. See Clarendon, iv. 584; Collins' *Baronets*, i. 105; and Baines, iv. 614.

Chantrell (Captain) called also Chantwell and Channell. Chantrell was the name of a respectable family settled at Bache Hall, near Chester.

Charnock (—) of Charnock, Royalist captain. The Charnocks were an ancient family in the neighbourhood of Chorley, of whom several entries will be found in the *Lancashire Visitations.*

Chetham (Humphrey) Esq. Founder of the Hospital and Library at Manchester bearing his name, and treasurer of the county of Lancaster in 1644.

Chetham (—) of Nuthurst. "Thomas Chetam" of Nuthurst occurs in 1635, in Whatton's Life of the Founder of the Chetham Hospital (p. 151), as certifying to the heralds with respect to the subject of that worthy man being of his "bloud and lynage," and is probably the person here intended.

Chisenhale (Edward) of Chisenhale, Esq. representative of an ancient family in Chorley parish; appointed colonel of a Royalist regiment by Rupert, after the first siege of Lathom, with which he served at Marston Moor. He was author of a polemical work, entitled *Catholike History*, the frontispiece to which is remarkable: the author is represented kneeling, in full cavalier's costume, near a study, in which his gown and his buff-coat are suspended, severally underwritten "Mercurio" and "Marte"; he presents his book to clergy issuing from a church entitled "Sponsa mea," by an inscription on a ray of glory, whilst the pope and his train, and a female demon claiming these latter persons as "familia mea," are looking on the kneeling author in dismay.

Chorley (—) of Chorley. William Chorley, of Chorley, occurs in Dugdale's

*Visitation* as deceasing in 1652, and as father of Richard Chorley, who died in 1653.

Clifton (Thomas) of Clifton and Lytham, Esq. chief of that house, and uncle of the ancestor of the present representative. He was created a baronet Mar. 4, 1660, and died S.P. See Burke's *Ext. Barts.* and Dugdale's *Vis. Lanc.*

Crompton (James) of Breightmet. See Gregge.

Croxton (Thomas) of Ravenscroft, colonel of one of the Cheshire regiments raised in 1650; governor of Chester Castle in 1659, when the city was occupied by Sir George Booth; and previously one of the members of the court-martial at Lord Derby's trial. He was representative of an ancient family in that county. *Hist. Chesh.* iii. 110.

Cunliffe (Nicholas) of Hollings (ancestor of the present baronet), and Robert his brother, members of the Lancashire Committee, 1645.

Dalton (—). Most probably Thomas Dalton of Thurnham, col. of horse, who died in 1643, of wounds received at Newbury, having raised a regiment of horse in the king's service. See Baines, iv. 543.

Danson (Thomas) under-sheriff of Lancashire.

Danyel (Peter) the younger, of Over Tabley, Cheshire, Esq. a captain of infantry in the regiment raised by John, Earl Rivers; died at Oxford, of wounds received at the siege of Gloucester in 1643. See *Hist. Chesh.* i. 367.

Derby (James Stanley) seventh Earl of, K.G. and K.B.; summoned, 1628, as Lord Strange, in his father's lifetime (whom he succeeded as earl); in 1642 lord-lieutenant and lord-general of Lancashire, under the Royal appointment, after being displaced from his lieutenancies of Cheshire and North Wales by the king, and from that of Lancashire by the Parliament; beheaded at Bolton-le-Moors, Oct. 15, 1651.

Derby (Charlotte) Countess of, daughter of Claude de la Tremouille, Duke of Thouars, and of the Lady Charlotte his wife, daughter of William I, Prince of Orange. She died, March 21, 1663, and was buried at Ormskirk.

Derby (William Stanley) sixth Earl of. It requires to be noticed, that the Tracts (pp. 47, 52) date his death on Sep. 25, 1642,—the authors of *Baronages*, Collins, Dugdale, &c., on Sep. 29.

Dives (Sir Lewis) of Bromham, co. Bedford, uterine brother of the Earl of Bristol.

Dodding (Geo.) of Conished Priory, Esq. col. of one of the Lancashire regiments of Parliamentary militia. He was head of an ancient Furness family, succeeding that of Sandys of Conished, and now represented by Braddyll. See West's *Furness*, 4to. edit. 216, and the *Visitations* of 1613 and 1664.

Downes (Master) of Wardley. John Downes, son of Roger Downes, vice-chamberlain of Lancashire (who removed from Cheshire to Wardley, previously the seat of the Tyldesleys), and husband of Penelope, daughter of Sir Cecil Trafford; respecting which marriage, and other legends connected with the family and their ancient seat, see Baines, iii. 146, and Roby's *Traditions*.

Dukenfield (Robert) of Dukenfield, Cheshire, Esq. head of that name; Parliamentary colonel, governor of Chester, &c. in 1651, and father of Sir Robert Dukenfield, created baronet 1665. See Dugdale's *Vis. Chesh.* 1664; memoir in *Hist. Chesh.* iii. 397; and also Whitelock's memorials, for the account of his reduction of the Isle of Man.

Egerton (Peter) of Shaw, in Flixton, Esq. a descendant from the Ridley branch of the Cheshire Egertons, a col. in the Parliamentary service, and also one of the deputy-lieutenants and commissioners of sequestration for Lancashire. See *Hist. Chesh.* ii. 162; Baines, iii. 163; and Dugdale's *Vis. Lanc.* 1664.

Fairfax (Sir Thomas) General of the Parliamentary forces, afterwards Lord Fairfax. The elder Fairfax does not occur in the Lancashire proceedings.

Farrington (William) Esq. of Werden; Sheriff 1636, a Commissioner of Array, and one of the Magistrates displaced by Parliament in 1641. His name occurs in the list of proposed Knights of the intended order of the Royal Oak. See *Burke's Commoners*, iii, 341.

Farmer (Captain) a Scotch gentleman, previously trained in the wars of the Low Countries, and slain at Marston Moor, serving under Colonel Chisenhale.

Fell (Thomas) of Swartmoor Hall, near Ulverston, Vice-Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and one of the Welch Judges; died 1658, leaving a widow (Margaret, daughter of John Askew), who married in 1669 the celebrated Geo. Fox, by whom she, her first husband, and family, had been converted to Quakerism. The story is well told in *Roby's Traditions*, iv. p. 86.

Fitton (Sir Edward) of Gawsworth, Cheshire, Baronet; served at Edgehill, Banbury, Brainford, and Reading, and slain at the taking of Bristol, 1643. Monument at Gawsworth. See *Hist. Chesh.* iii. 295.

Fleetwood (John) of Penwortham, Esq. and representative of that branch of the family, a Commissioner of Array, and member of Lord Derby's council for Lancashire.

Fleetwood (Richard) supposed to be Richard second son of Sir Paul Fleetwood of Rossall, aged 45 at the Visitation of 1664.

Fogg or Fogge, of Darcey Lever, Bolton Parish. Several of this name occur, and appear to be branches belonging to a family, of the rank of minor gentry, and of moderate puritan principles, which was there settled. See Disclaimers in Dugdale's *Vis. of* 1664, and Hunter's *Life of Heywood*, 175.

Foxe (John) Gentleman. The Foxes of the Rhodes, in Prestwich, were a respectable family of moderate puritan principles, particularly noticed in Hinde's *Life of John Bruen*, p. 110, and for many generations tenants of Rhodes, under the Derby family.

Foxe (Richard) Captain; most probably one of the same family.

Gaskell (John) an original trustee of Clarke's Charity, 1636.

Gamul (Sir Francis) of Buerton, knight and colonel; the host of King Charles when visiting Chester during his mayoralty, and in siege. See *Hist. Chesh.* i. 206, iii. 250. Inaccurately stated in one of the accounts of Wigan fight, and by Lloyd, to have fallen there in 1651, died 1654, and was buried in St. Mary's, Chester, his sequestrated life interest in Buerton being sold in 1653.

Gee (Edward) Puritan Minister of Eccleston. See Hunter's *Heywood*, p. 89.

Gerard (Sir Gilbert) knight and colonel, younger brother of Sir Charles Gerard of Halsal, co. Lanc. and husband of Anne, Lady Brereton, one of the coheiresses of Sir Edw. Fitton of Gawsworth. He was governor of Worcester, for Car. I, and buried there. *Hist. Chesh.* i. 481.

Gerard (Radclyffe) twin brother of Sir Gilbert, and lieut. col. of his regiment. Ibid.

Gerard (Sir William) of Bryn, Bart. the head of the Lancashire branch of this ancient family, and a munificent contributor to the necessities of the Royalists. See Collins's and Wotton's *Baronetages.*

Gerard (Richard) brother of Sir William, and a lieut. col. of a regiment of foot-guards raised by himself at the request of the Queen H. M. In the service of Spain in the Low Countries before 1642, and subsequently attendant on Henrietta Maria to her death. Ibid.

Girlington (Cath.) Lady (wife of Sir J. G.) daughter of Thomas Girlington of Lancashire. *Dugd. Vis. L.* 1664.

Girlington (Sir John) of Thurland, liberated by the articles of surrender of Thurland in 1643; is stated by Whitelock (p. 110) to have been drowned in the rout of the Newark forces in 1644; and with equal seeming inaccuracy, named as living, in the proposals of the Parliament to the King, July 11, 1646, *Rushw.* pt. iv. vol. i. 314. In the *Black Tribunal*, and by Lloyd, he is stated to have fallen in the battle between Langdale and Rossiter near Melton Mowbray, in February 1644-5. This last statement agrees with the account in Dugdale's *Vis. of* 1664,—"slain in 1645, being then major-general."

Greene (Alexander) one of the trustees of Humphrey Chetham in 1651.

Greenhalgh (Capt. John) of Brandlesholme, in Bury parish, governor of the Isle of Man. An account of the family is given in Dugdale's *Vis.* of 1664, and of the place in Baines's *Lancash.* ii. 676; and the Character of Greenhalgh himself is drawn strikingly and most favourably in Lord Derby's *Memoir* addressed to his son. Peck *Des. Cur.* lib. xi. p. 25.

Greg or Gregge (Robert) Vicar of Bolton le Moors, and younger brother of Edw. Greg of Bradley in Cheshire. See Calamy in account of Thomas Greg of St. Helen's, *Hist. Chesh.* ii. 24, and Hunter's *Life of Heywood.*

Greg (Alice) widow of the preceding, and daughter of James Crompton of Breighmet, member of a very wide-spread family, settled at Crompton in Prestwich parish from the 13th to the 17th century, and first appearing in Bolton parish as a branch resident at Hackin in Darcy Lever, temp. Ric. III. Several well-known and pious members of this family are noticed by Anthony Wood, Calamy, Henry, and Hunter; and three sisters of this lady were wives of Richard Goodwin, pastor of Bolton, Oliver Heywood, the subject of Mr. Hunter's work, and John Okey, who has a celebrated historical memorial in Bolton churchyard.

HALSALL (EDWARD) one of the persons to whom the authorship of the History of Lathom Siege in 1644 has been referred, and one of the parties arrested in 1650 on suspicion of murdering Ascham (the Parliamentary agent at Madrid), being then aged only 23 years. Baines, iv. 251; and Clarendon, vi. 443.

HAMILTON (JAMES) first DUKE of, taken prisoner at Uttoxeter, Aug. 1648; beheaded, March 1649.

HARPER (JOHN) pastor of BOLTON, one of the Lancashire Committee of Ordination. See Hunter's *Heywood*.

HARTLEY (JOHN) of MANCHESTER, draper; afterwards purchaser of the hall and manor of Strangeways; and high-sheriff in 1649. Many memorials of this family are given by Hibbert, *Hist. of the Coll. Ch.* vol. ii.

HARRISON (JOHN) minister of WALMESLEY, and afterwards rector of Ashton-under-Lyne, in the presentation of Sir Geo. Booth, and one of the Lancashire Committee of Ordination. Life in Calamy, *Account*, 396.

HAWORTH (RICHARD) of MANCHESTER, a magistrate, whose name frequently occurs in the celebration of marriages during the Commonwealth, and who is stated in Whatton's list of trustees of the Manchester school, to be a descendant from the Howorths of Howorth.

HERLE (CHARLES) rector of Winwick, one of the two Lancashire members of the assembly of divines at Westminster, and a member of the Presbyterian Committee of Ordination. See Hunter's *Heywood*, p. 54.

HEYRICK (RICHARD) M.A. (younger son of Sir William H. of Beaumanon), sometime Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, and WARDEN OF MANCHESTER from 1636 to 1646, when the Presbyterian form of Church government was introduced, and again from 1660 to 1667. He was a member of the Lancashire Committee of Presbyterian Ordination, and of the assembly of divines at Westminster. See annals of his wardenship, and notices of his sermons, in Hibbert's *Coll. Ch.* and his *Monumental Inscription*, ibid. i. 372; and remarks on his political inconsistency in Baines' *Lanc.* and in Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* iii. 780.

HEYWOOD (PETER) of MANCHESTER, a pretended adherent of the Parliament, but secret agent of the Royalists in Manchester, and stated to be son of Peter Heywood of Heywood, a Lancashire magistrate, concerned in the apprehension of Guy Fawkes, and afterwards stabbed in Westminster Hall by a Dominican friar. See Palmer's *Siege*, p. 83, and Baines, ii. 676.

HIDE (ROBERT) of DENTON, Esq. aged 62 at Dugdale's visitation in 1664, and husband of one of the co-heiresses of Crompton of Crompton, in Oldham Chapelry. He was the head of a family of strict Puritanical principles.

Hoghton (Sir Gilbert) of Hoghton, bart. representative of a collateral line of the barons of Kendal, and ancestor of the present baronet. For accounts of him, his family, seat of Hoghton Tower, and King James's reception there, see Collins' and Wotton's *Baronetages*, Nichols' *Progresses of James*, iii. 398, and Whitaker's *Whalley*.

Hoghton (Margaret) Lady, one of the four daughters and co-heiresses of Sir Roger Aston, kt., one of the gentlemen of the chamber to James I.

Hoghton (Sir Richard) bart. son of the preceding.

Hoghton (Radclyffe) younger brother of Sir Gilbert H. and captain of horse.

Hoghton (—) Royalist captain, nephew of Sir Gilbert H.

Holcroft (John) of Holcroft, Esq. a Parliamentary deputy-lieut. and lieut.-col. and head of a knightly family, of which the Holcrofts of Vale Royal, in Cheshire, and those of Hurst, in Lancashire, were junior branches. See *Visitations* of 1567 and 1664; and Harl. MSS. 1987.

Holland (Richard) of Heaton, in Prestwich, Esq. governor of Manchester, from whose younger brother, William Holland, descended, in the female line, the Egertons, Earls of Wilton. Ped. in Dugdale's *Vis. Lanc.* 1664.

Hollinworth (Richard) M.A. Fellow of the Collegiate Church in Manchester, author of *Mancuniensis*, a chronicle of Manchester, published in 1839, and some controversialist works; died 1656. See many notices of him in Hibbert.

Hollywell (Richard) p. 35. Query, Hollinworth?

Holt (—) of Ashurst. Read Ashworth, pedigree in Dugd. *Vis. Lanc.* 1664.

Holt (Robert) of Stubley, near Rochdale, Esq. representative of an ancient family there. Dugd. *Vis. Lanc.* 1664; and Whitaker's *Whalley*.

Holt (Captain) supposed to be Peter Holt of Bridge Hall, Bury, who died about 1650. Ped. in Dugd. *Vis.* 1664.

Hopwood (Edmund) of Hopwood, Esq.; married Dorothy, daughter of Edward Assheton, rector of Middleton; sheriff, 1650; and aged 65 at the visitation of 1664.

Horrocks. There were several Puritan ministers of this surname: Alexander Horrocks, vicar of Dean, of considerable celebrity, and one of the Lancashire Committee of Presbyterian Ordination; John Horrocks of Colne, whose epitaph is given by Whitaker, as the most bombastic that he ever met with; and Thomas Horrocks, M.A. of Malden, in Essex, who has a life in Calamy's work, and was also from Bolton. The vicar of Dean was *most probably* the person intended by "the *rogue Horrocks*, that preaches in his grey cloak," alluded to *by Rupert's troopers* in *Bolton Massacre*. See p. 192.

Hudleston (Colonel) one of nine brothers, sons of Ferdinando Hudleston, of Millum in the county of Cumberland, of whom the eldest was created a knight banneret for recovering the Royal Standard at Edgehill, and all were officers in the Royal service. See Burns' *Cumberland*, p. 12; and Burke's *Commoners*, ii. 584.

HYDE (HAMNET) of HYDE and NORBURY, in Cheshire, Esq. aged seventeen at the visitation of 1580, and died 1643. *Hist. Chesh.* iii. 395.

HYET (JAMES) pastor of Croston, one of the Lancashire committee of ordination. Calamy's *Account*, p. 408.

HYLTON (JOHN) supposed to be John Hylton of DARLEY in Farnworth, named as aged sixteen, in the inquisition after the death of his father, John H. in 1606; and as husband of Winifred Hopwood, of Hopwood, in Dugdale's *Vis. L.* of 1664, and a descendant (through Hulton of Farnworth) from the parent line of Hulton Park.

IRELAND (SIR GILBERT) of HALE, knight, and also of Bewsey, in right of his wife Margaret, daughter of Thomas Ireland, Esq. See Gregson's *Fragments*, 218; Baines' *Lancashire* (in Hale); and Dugd. *Vis. L.* 1664.

JACKSON (—) serjeant-major of Col. Ashton's regiment, and occupier of Knowsley, under the Parliamentary sequestrations in 1647. Capt. Hodgson adds to the account of his misconduct at Preston in 1648, " the Major had been called to a council of war, but that he cried peccavi."

JOHNSON (RICHARD) a fellow of MANCHESTER COLL. CHURCH, actively instrumental in procuring the new charter thereof granted by Charles I, 1635. See Hibbert's *Hist. of the Coll. Ch.* for many notices of him.

KEY (KAY) a distinguished officer of cavalry in both the sieges of Lathom, and the subject of a chivalrous anecdote in Seacome's narrative, orig. edit. p. 120. He is stated to have been a resident of Walmersley, in Bury Parish, Baines, ii. 677.

KILMOREY (ROBERT NEEDHAM) second Viscount, of Shavinton, Salop. This nobleman married to his second wife, Eleanor, daughter and heiress of Thomas Dutton, of Dutton, Esq. widow of Sir Gilbert Gerard, K.B. for whose excellent character, as drawn by her son-in-law, Sir Peter Leycester, see *Hist. Chesh.* i. 482.

KIRKBY (ROGER) of KIRKBY, Esq. M.P. for Lancashire in the Long Parliament, married Agnes, daughter of Sir John Lowther, of Lowther, co. Westmoreland. See *Vis. Lanc.* 1664.

KNYPE. There is a pedigree of Knipe of Boughton in the Lanc. Vis. of 1664.

LANGDALE (SIR MARMADUKE) of HOLME in Yorkshire, afterwards Lord Langdale. The best account of this gallant soldier will be found in Collins' *Peerage*, vii. 46, edit. 1768.

LATHOM (Mr.) " the great Papist." There were *two* considerable Lancashire Royalists of this name; and as it does not appear that EDMUND LATHAM, the sequestrated owner of IRLAM (of whom so much is said by Seacome) was a recusant, it is most probable that RICHARD LATHOM of PARBOLD and ALLERTON (aged forty-one years, 1664, is here intended. He was son and heir of Thomas Lathom of Parbold, by Elizabeth, daughter of Christopher Preston of Holker, and widow of Edward Tyldesley, of Morleys, Esq. by whom that lady was mother of Major General Sir Thomas Tyldesley. See Nichols' *Collectanea*, vol. vii. p. 11.

LATHOM (PAUL) M.A. one of the Committee of Ordination, chaplain to Col. General Assheton (whose sister he married), and rector of STANDISH, which he resigned (as a non-conformist) in 1662. See Calamy, *Account*, p. 412; and Dugd. *V. L.* 1664. He was brother of John Lathom, of Whiston, Esq. and of Andrew Lathom, a Puritan minister, noticed in Hunter's *Life of Heywood*, p. 83, and in the Memoirs of Capt. Hodgson of Coley.

LEGH (THOMAS) of ADLINGTON, Cheshire, Esq. head of that branch of the Venables family, and son of Sir Urian Leigh, the supposed subject of the ballad of "The Spanish Ladies Love." See *Hist. Chesh.* iii. 333.

LIGHTBOWNE (JAMES) one of the executors of H. Chetham, 1651, and a constable of Manchester, 1646.

LOMAX (RICHARD) one of the original trustees of Clarke's Charity, 1636.

MACKWORTH (HUMPHREY) of BETTON-STRANGE, Salop, Parliamentary colonel, president of the court-martial by which Lord Derby was condemned in 1651, and governor of Shrewsbury. He was ancestor of the present baronet, and descendant of the Mackworths of Mackworth Castle in Derbyshire, and is the subject of an excellent biographical memoir in Blakeway's *Sheriffs of Shropshire*, p. 137.

MAINWARING (COL. EDWARD) of KIRMINCHAM HALL, Cheshire. *Hist. Chesh.* i. xxxv.; and iii. 45.

MARKLAND (RALPH) bailiff of Wigan, 1649. MARKLAND (THOMAS) occurring in a Commission of Sequestration in 1643. (Hibbert's Coll. Ch. i. 221.) MARKLAND (—) Parliamentary captain, but afterwards engaged under Sir George Booth in 1651, and one of the prisoners taken by Lambert at Winnington Bridge. All these were most probably members of one family, but have not been exactly identified.

MARLER (JAMES) one of the executors of Humphrey Chetham in 1651.

MARLER (JOHN) an original trustee of Clarke's Charity, 1636.

MASSY, or MASSIE (EDW.) major-general, originally an active Parliamentarian, and the celebrated governor of Gloucester during its siege by Charles I; subsequently as active a Royalist, and, in the words of Clarendon, "looked upon as a martyr for the Presbyterian interest." He was fifth son of John Massie, of Coddinton in Cheshire, by Anne, daughter of Richard Grosvenor of Eaton. Further particulars in *Hist. Chesh.* ii. 398-9, iii. 448, in Clarendon and in Corbet, reprinted in Webb's Gloucestershire Civil War Tracts.

MIDDLETON (SIR GEORGE) of LEIGHTON, knight and bart. Royalist col. knighted by the King at York, June 26, 1642, and created a baronet June 27. See Burkes' *Ext. Baronets.*

MOLINEUX (RICHARD) second VISCOUNT MOLINEUX of Maryborough, and heir male of the family of Molineux of Sefton (see p. 47), died soon after 1651, issueless. See Collins' *Baronets*, i. 26.

**Molineux (Caryl)** third **Viscount Molineux** of Maryborough, brother of the preceding, whom he joined in raising cavalry, and in services in Lancashire and elsewhere, and attendance on King Charles at Oxford and Charles II at Worcester. Ancestor of the Earl of Sefton. See Collins, ibidem.

**Moore (John)** Parliamentary colonel, governor of Liverpool, and M.P. for that borough, representative of an ancient Lancashire family settled at Moore Hall and Bank Hall, and father of Edward Moore, created a baronet by Charles II. See *Vis. Lanc.* Harl. MSS. 1987, Gregson's *Fragments*, & Wotton's *Baronetage*.

**Monson (Sir John)** K.B. and M.P. (Lord Strange's negotiator.) See Lloyd's *Memoirs*, 699, describing him as "assisting in all counsels, and one in all treaties, for which he paid £2642."

**Mort (Adam)** of **Preston**, son of Adam Mort of Tyldesley (a collateral of the Morts of Damhouse) and husband of Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Tyldesley, knight, attorney-general for Lancashire, a near relative of Major Gen. Tyldesley. See *Vis.* 1613 and 1664. See also Baines, iv. 313, for several particulars respecting the mayoralty of Preston (to which Mort had been appointed) being really held by another at the time of his heroic death.

**Mosley (Sir Edward)** bart. of **Rolleston**, co. Staff. and **Houghs-end** in Lancashire, and baron (*i. e.* manerial lord) of Manchester. See Burke's *Ext. Barts.* and pedigree in Baines, ii. 353. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Middlewich by Brereton in 1643, *Hist. Chesh.* 97.

**Mosley (Nicholas)** boroughreeve of Manchester, 1642. See pedigree as before.

**Moseley (Nicholas)** and **Francis**, his father, of Manchester, were Royalists, whose property was seized by the Parliament in 1643. See Hibbert, 'i. 220. Francis Mosley, of Collihurst, gent. occurs as one of H. Chetham's trustees, 1651.

**Mosley (Edward)** captain in the Parliamentary service.

**Musgrave (Sir Philip)** of **Eden Hall** in Westmoreland, bart. Royalist colonel and governor of Carlisle, distinguished by services at Marston, Rowton Heath, and Worcester, and by raising several successive regiments; and in consideration of these services, had a warrant to take out the title of Baron Musgrave of Hartley. See Collins' and Wotton's *Baronetcies.*

**Mytton (Thomas)** of **Halston**, co. Salop, Parliamentary general, and a member of Lord Derby's court-martial in 1651. A memoir of him is given in Pennant's *Wales*, i. 247.

**Newcastle (William Cavendish) Earl** of, nephew of William first Earl of Devonshire, created marquess of Newcastle 1643, and duke of N. 1664.

**Newton (Alexander)** lieut. col. and a member of Lord Derby's court martial. He was major of one of the Cheshire regiments, commanded by Bradshaw of Marple at Worcester fight, and raised in 1650. *Hist. Chesh.* i. xxxix.

**Nowell (Henry)** younger son of Roger Nowell of Read, Esq., by his second wife Catherine Hyde of Hyde and Norbury, and half brother of col. Roger Nowell. He was **Deputy Governor** of the **Isle of Man**. Whitaker's *Whalley*, p. 264.

Nowell (John) coincides in name and time with an uncle of Roger Nowell, next mentioned.

Nowell (Roger) of Read, colonel of a Lancashire Royalist regiment, and head of an ancient family. He was fourth in descent from Roger Nowell, elder brother of the celebrated dean of St. Paul's, and son of another Roger Nowell of considerable local celebrity for his exertion in the discovery and commitment of Lancashire witches. See Ped. &c. in Whitaker's *Whalley*, 3rd edit. 264, and Potts's *Discoverie of Witches*.

Norris (Alexander) of Halgh near Bolton le Moors, treasurer of the Lancashire committee. He had a daughter and heiress, Alice, who brought his estates to the Starkies of Huntroyd in marriage in 1654. *Hist. Chesh.* iii. 474.

Norris (—) Royalist colonel, governor of Warrington.

Norris (—) Royalist captain.

Ogle (Henry and Cuthbert) members of the family of Ogle of Whiston in West Derby. See Dugdale's *Vis.* 1664, and Gregson's *Fragments*, p. 182.

Penketh, (Lieut.) A family of this name, resident at Penketh, near Prescot, appears in the *Lanc. Vis.* of 1566.

Preston (—) Royalist captain; probably either Henry Preston of Preston (Dugd. *Vis.* 1664), or Thomas Preston of Holker (West's *Furness*, 4to, 262). The dates do not suit the Prestons of Preston Patrick.

Prestwich (Thomas) of Hulme Hall near Manchester, Esq.; served in Cheshire under Sir Thomas Aston 1644, created a baronet 1644, afterwards sold his estate to the Mosleys, and died S. P. See Hibbert's *Coll. Ch. of M.* ii. 11, Burke's *Ext. Baronetage*, and *Hist. Chesh.* iii. 99.

Rawstorne (Edward) of New-Hall, Royalist colonel and governor of Lathom in the second siege; married, first, Helen daughter of Radcliffe Ashton of Cuerdale, Esq., and, secondly, Mary daughter of John Greenhalgh of Brandlesome, Esq., but died issueless, and was succeeded by his brother Lawrence Rawstorne, Esq.

Radcliffe (Sir Alexander) of Ordsall, K.B., heir male of that ancient branch of Radcliffe, and possessed of Attilborough in Suffolk, by marriage with the natural daughter of his kinsman Robert R. Earl of Sussex, K.G. He was son of Sir John Radcliffe, by his wife Alice, daughter of Sir John Byron of Newsted, and was buried in Manch. Coll. Ch. April 14, 1654, in the choir of which he commemorated (by a brass plate) his father, and his four uncles, Alexander, William, Thomas, and Edmund, all slain in battle. MS. Pedigrees at Sedbury, Burke's *Commoners*, and Palmer's *Survey Manch. Coll. Ch.* (p. 288) in Hibbert's work.

Radcliffe (Molineaux) capt. probably a collateral of the Ordsall family, which intermarried with Molineux.

Radcliffe (Richard) of Radcliffe's Hall (afterwards called Pool Fold) in

Manchester, Parliamentary capt. and serjt. major. See siege of Manchester, p. 25, by Mr. Palmer, who supposes him to be Richard Radcliffe, M.P. for Manchester.

RADCLIFFE (WILLIAM) one of the Lancashire Parliamentary magistrates in 1642.

RADLEY (WILLIAM) of OLDFIELD in Salford, one of the executors of Chetham's will, and one of the original trustees of Clarke's Charity.

RIGBY (ALEXANDER) of BURGH, Esq. died in 1650, or thereabouts, having married Catherine daughter of Sir Edw. Brabazon of Nether Whitacre in Warwickshire. Dugd. *Vis. Lanc.* 1664.

RIGBY (ALEXANDER) of LAYTON, Esq. sheriff of Lancashire 1677, in which year he was the "grateful erector" of the monument in honour of Sir Thomas Tyldesley in the battle-field at Wigan, to whom he "was cornet."—Inscrip. on monument.

RIGBY (ALEXANDER) of PRESTON, Esq. bred to the law, afterwards a most active colonel in the service of the Parliament, and subsequently created baron of the exchequer in 1649, but superseded by Cromwell. He married Lucy, sister of an active Royalist, Thomas Legh of Adlington, Esq. and was younger brother of George Rigby of Peel, Esq., from whom Rigby of that place (now represented by Lord Kenyon) descended. Dugd. *Vis. L.* 1664, and Noble's *Lives of the Regicides*.

RIGBY (ALEXANDER) the younger, son of col. Alexander Rigby. MS. pedigree at Sedbury.

RIGBY (EDWARD) serjeant at law; brother of the preceding. Ibidem.

RODES (SIR EDW.) of GREAT HOUGHTON, Yorkshire. Many notices of him and his family in Hunter's *Heywood*, Rushworth iii. pt. 2, 276, and Ped. in Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodiensis*.

ROSCOW (JAMES). There was a family of Roscow of Great Lever near Bolton, closely connected with the branch of Crompton of Breightmet from which the Cromptons of Derby descended, as appears by MS. Lancashire wills and pedigrees in the Editor's library.

ROSWORM (JOHN) lieut. col. See the short introduction to the complaint of this gallant German, and also his services in the general index.

RUTTER (SAMUEL) M.A., ARCHDEACON of MAN, guardian of the temporalities of the see from 1645 to 1659; prebendary of Longdon (Lichf. Cath.) 1660, and bishop of Man same year; died May 30, 1663, buried in St. German's Cathedral in Man. He was resident in Lathom during both sieges. Many anecdotes of him will be found in Seacome's *Memoirs*, which are principally drawn from his collections, and his characteristic epitaph is given in Bliss's *A. Wood*, iv. 810, and Harwood's *Lichfield*.

SALISBURY (SIR THOMAS) of Llewenny, Bart. M.P. for Denbigh, Colonel of Lord Derby's Welch regiment, and a poet. He was created D.C.L. during King Charles's residence in Oxford; died 1643. See Collins's *Barts.* and Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* Bliss's edit. iii. 55.

Scoffield (—) captain of a Parliamentary company of Rochdale soldiers.

Seacome (John) author of Memoirs of the H. of Stanley. See p. 196.

Shaw, or Asshaw (Peter) of Heath Charnock, near Chorley. Died about 1657. See Dugd. *Vis.* 1664.

Sherington (Francis) Esq. Francis Sherington, Esq. of Boothe Hall in Worsley occurs in 1685, as owner of an estate in Tyldesley.

Shorrocks (Ralph) of Preston; aged 52, 1664, Dugdale's *Vis.* 1664.

Shuttleworth (Richard) M.P. for Clithero, 1640, and a colonel in the Parl. service, son and heir apparent of Richard Shuttleworth of Gawthorp, Esq. died before his father 1648. One of his protections (granted to Edw. Parker of Browsholme, Esq. in 1644) is given in Whitaker's *Whalley*, p. 238. See Ped. *ibid.* p. 339, and Dugd. *Vis.* 1664.

Shuttleworth (Nicholas and Ughtred) younger brothers of the above, and colonels in the Parliamentary service.

Shuttleworth (William) captain in the Parl. service, and younger brother of the three preceding; slain in defence of Lancaster against Lord Derby, 1643.

Simmonds (Robert) Rector of Middleton. Sequestrated and imprisoned. See Walker's *Sufferings of Clergy*, 366.

Stanley, see Derby, Earl of.

Stanley (Sir Thomas) of Bickerstaff, Bart. heir male of that branch of Stanley which descended from a younger son of George Lord Strange (son of Thomas, first Earl of Derby), and which branch, after having succeeded to the earldom and the Lancashire estates on the death of James Earl of Derby in 1735-6, is now represented by the present Earl. See Brydges's *Collins*, iii. p. 97.

Standish (Ralph) of Standish, Esq. chief of that ancient Lancashire family, married Bridget, sister of Richard, Lord Molyneux, and had issue Edward, Alexander Colonel of a Royalist regiment of Horse, and Bridget, wife of Major-General Sir Thomas Tyldesley. Burke's *Commoners*, ii. p. 67, and *Visitations of* 1566 *and* 1664.

Standish (Thomas) of Duxbury, Esq. representative of a collateral branch of the ancient family before-mentioned, and one of the Parliamentary magistrates in 1642.—Standish was also one of the Lancashire colonels in 1648. Pedigrees of the family will be found in the *Lancashire Visitations* of 1566 and 1613, *The Modern Entries*, *Coll. Arm.* Wotton's *Baronetage*, and Burke's *Commoners*.

Standish (Thomas) Esq. eldest son and heir apparent of Thomas Standish of Duxbury, Esq. slain at the siege of Manchester in the royal service, and died S. P.

Starkie (Nicholas) of Huntroyde, Esq. Parliamentary captain, a deputy-lieutenant, blown up at Hoghton Tower, 1642. Whitaker's *Whalley*, and *Hist. Chesh.* i. 474, Ped. in *Vis. Lanc.* 1664.

Starkie (John) of Huntroyde, Esq. one of the Lancashire committee, and Sheriff of Lancashire, 1656. See Whitaker's *Whalley*, and *Hist. Chesh.* i. 474.

Talbot (Sir John) of Salesbury, representative of a collateral line descending from Talbot of Bashall, and terminating in Dorothy wife of Edw. Warren of Poynton, Esq., whose family succeeded to the estate. See account of the place and family in Whitaker's *Whalley*, 432, and entries in *Vis. of* 1566 and 1664.

Talbot (George) son of the preceding.

Tempest (Richard) of Bowling and of Bracewell, Esq., a Col. in the Royal service. See Whitaker's *Craven*, p. 81, and Loidis and Elmete, p. 357.

Torbock of Torbock, most probably Edward T. of T., captain of the Isle of Man, and husband of Dorothy sister of George Cotton of Combermere, Esq., which G. C. died 1649; see Seacome, and *Hist. Chesh.* iii. 212. The Torbocks were male descendants from the Lathoms, and preserved a clannish attachment to their chiefs and kinsmen the Stanleys.

Townley of Townley (Charles) Esq., head of that distinguished and most ancient family, whose descent, as traced from the Saxon Deans of Whalley, passes the period of the Conquest; slain at Marston Moor, and buried in the field. Whitaker's *Whalley*, 344.

Townley (Mary) wife of the preceding, and daughter of Sir Francis Trapps Birnand of Harrogate, Bart. died 1690, aged 91. ibid.

Trafford (Sir Cecil) of Trafford, knight, heir male of an ancient and knightly family (which, like that of Towneley, ascends into the Saxon period), and ancestor of the present baronet. He was son of Sir Edmund Trafford, by lady Mildred Cecil, daughter of the Earl of Exeter, and knighted by King James, at Lathom, in his progress of 1617. His pedigree will be found in all the *Lancashire Visitations*, and an elaborate one compiled by Vernon, in Harl. MSS. 1987. Palmer, p. 49, and Baines, ii., 269, give many particulars (on the authority of a note in Hollinworth's Mancuniensis) as to the conversion of Sir Cecil from Protestantism to Romanism before the commencement of the war.

Tildesley (John) M.A., vicar of Dean, and one of the Presbyterian committee of ordination; a celebrated preacher and non-conformist, once imprisoned by Cromwell in the Tower, thrice ejected, and afterwards residing at Manchester as a private individual, dying there in 1684. See Calamy, *Account*, 403, *Continuation*, p. 563, and Hibbert's *Coll. Ch. of Manchester.*

Tyldesley (Sir Thomas) knight, Royalist major-general, and representative of a younger branch of the Tyldesleys of Tyldesley, in which township he inherited estates, possessing also Morleys Hall in Astley by inheritance from the Lelands, and Mierscough Lodge near Lancaster, which was his residence. The descent of the family is entered in all the *Lancashire Visitations*. The long series of his services in Lancashire will be found in the Index; and those in other parts, with a brief notice of his descendants, are appended to the account of his death at Wigan in p. 306.

Tyldesley (Sir. Thomas) knight, Att. Gen. for the county of Lancaster; and head of the elder line of this family, as son of Thurstan Tyldesley of Wardley, Esq., by Margaret daughter of Sir William Norris of Speke, and father-in-law of Adam Mort, the brave Royalist who was slain in the storming of Preston.

Venables (Captain) afterwards governor of Chester, was distinguished in the Irish war, and served, together with Admiral Penn, as General of the Forces sent by Cromwell against Hispaniola and Jamaica. See Clarendon, Seacome, Hunter's *Oliver Heywood*, 179, and *History of Cheshire*, i. 487, in which county he was manerial lord of Wincham, and representative of Venables of Antrobus.

Wainman (Colonel) occupier of Ashton Hall during the visit of Charles II, and probably a member of the noble Irish family of Wenman, or Wainman, as the name was then written; as in Clarendon's list of the Uxbridge commissioners.

Walthew (Lieut.) An ancient family of this name was settled at Walthew, near Wigan, at this time, a co-heiress of which married Markland. See Pedigree in Nichols's *Lit. Anec.* iv. 657.

Ward (W.) minister of Walton, one of the Lancashire Committee of Ordination.

Westby (Thomas) M.D. named as "the great Popish doctor," younger son of Thomas Westby of Mowbreck, Esq. by his wife Perpetua, daughter of Edward Norris, of Speke, Esq. See *Vis. Lanc.* 1566; and Burke's *Commoners*, i. 598.

Wharton (Philip) Lord, Parliamentary Lord-Lieutenant of Lancashire, nominated by the Commons, in the list recommended to the King, Feb. 12, 164½, and absolutely appointed, March 5. See Rushworth, and Dugdale's *Baronage*.

Whitfield (Richard) one of the Lancashire Committee of Ordination.

Whitley (Col. Roger) of Peel Hall, in Tarvin parish, a companion of Charles II in his exile, and an emissary of his at the time of Booth's rising in 1651; afterwards M.P. for Chester, on the Whig interest; and the host of William III in his route towards Ireland. *Hist. Chesh.* ii. 180.

Widdrington (William) Lord, descendant of an ancient Northumberland family, and created Lord Widdrington of Blankney, 1643. His character is finely drawn by Clarendon, and a brief memoir occurs also in Dugdale's *Baronage.* William, fourth lord, was taken prisoner, together with his two brothers, at Preston, in the rebellion of 1715, and the three were found guilty of high treason, but received the royal pardon.

Willoughby (—) Parl. captain. As the Christian-name is not mentioned, it can only be conjectured that he was member of a branch of the house of Parham, which was closely connected with Bolton parish at this time, and also with the Presbyterian interest. Compare Bankes' *Ext. Peer.* iii. 743, and Hunter's *Heywood*, p. 277.

Wood (James) preacher at Ashton in Mackerfield, one of the Lancashire Committee of Ordination, and noticed among Calamy's ejected ministers.

# GENERAL INDEX

OF

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